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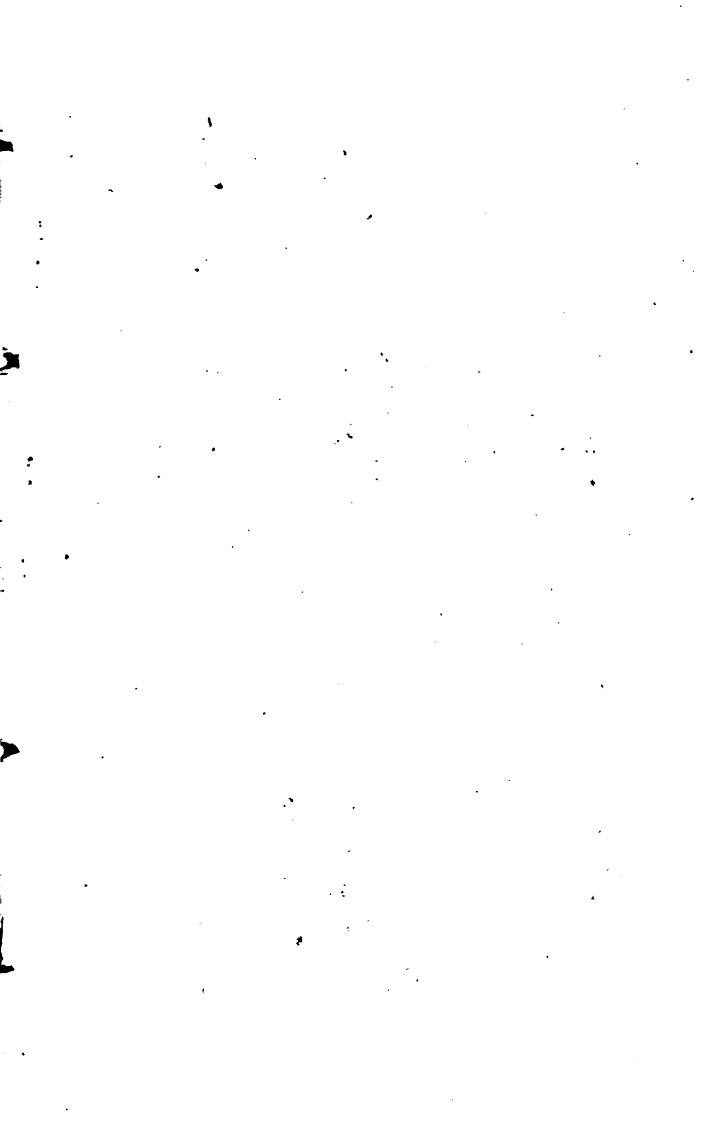
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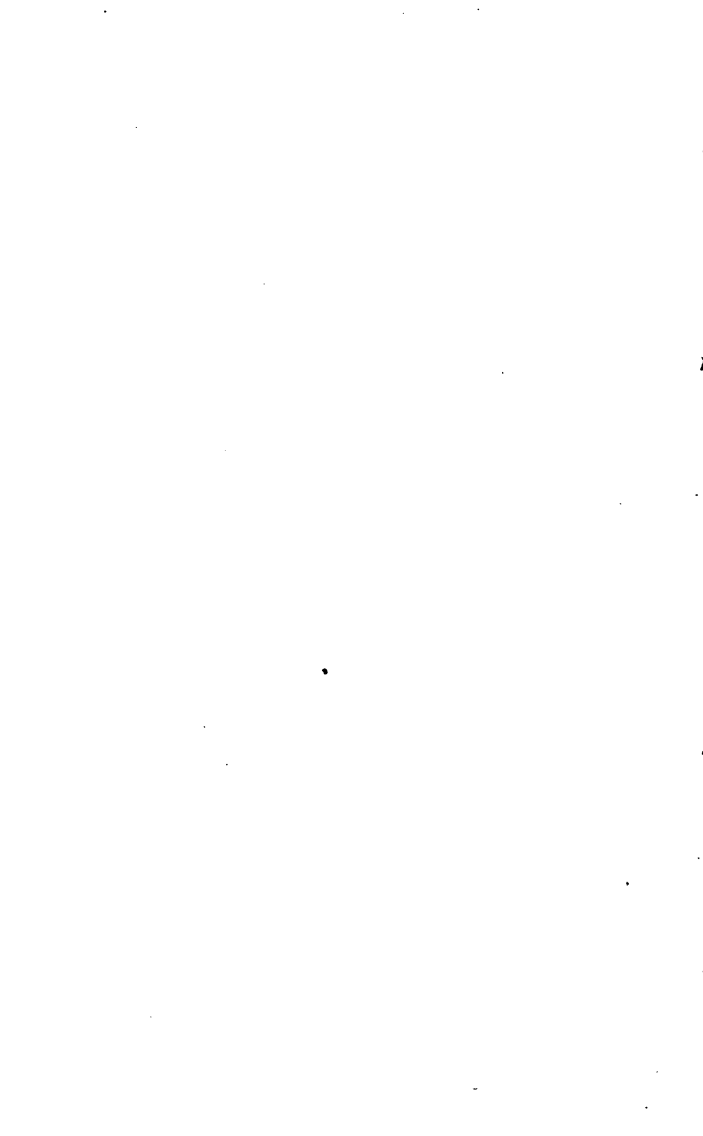


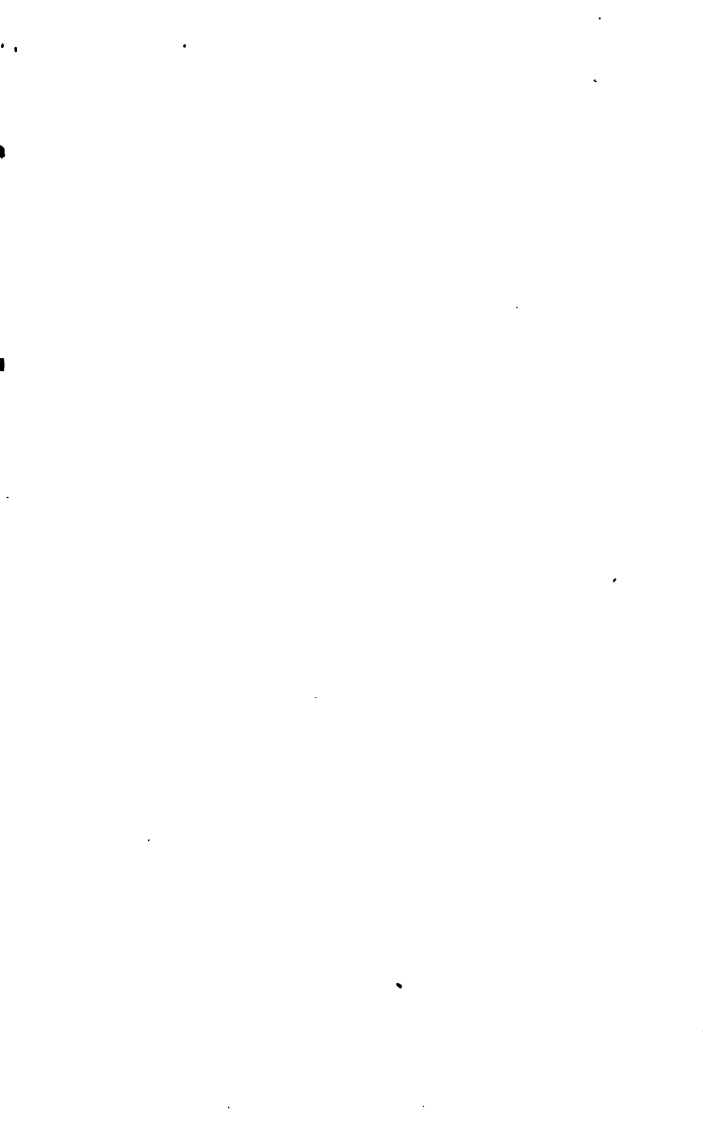
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HISTORY
OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

OF

THUCYDIDES.

BY WILLIAM SMITH, A.M.,

**RECTOR OF THE HOLY TRINITY IN CHESTER, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE
RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.**

A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED AND REVISED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,

NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET.

1848.

KC13119.



THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

BOOK IV.—[CONTINUED.]

YEAR VIII.*

EARLY in the following summer, at the time of the new moon, the sun was partially eclipsed ; and in the beginning of the same month the shock of an earthquake was felt.

The fugitives from Mitylene and Lesbos in general, who to a great number had sheltered themselves on the continent, assembled in a body, and having hired some additional succours in Peloponnesus, and drawn them over safely from thence, surprise Rhætium ; but, in consideration of two thousand Phocæan staters† paid immediately down, they restored it again undamaged. This being done, they marched next against Antandrus, and got possession of it by the treachery of a party within the city, who betrayed it to them. It was farther their intention to set at liberty those cities styled the Actean, which had formerly been possessed by the Mityleneans, but were now in the hands of the Athenians. But their principal view was the possession of Antandrus, which, once effectually secured (for it lay convenient for the building of ships, as it had plenty of timber, and Mount Ida stood just above it), they would then be amply furnished with all the expedients of war ; nay, might act offensively from thence ; might terribly annoy Lesbos, which lies near it, and reduce the Æolian fortresses along the coast. This was the plan which now they were intent to put in execution.

The same summer the Athenians, with a fleet of sixty ships, and taking with them two thousand heavy-armed, a few horsemen, the Milesians, and others of their confederates,

* Before Christ 424.

† Above 1800*l.* sterling.

made an expedition against Cythera. The command was lodged with Nicias, son of Niceratus, Nicostratus, son of Diotrephe, and Autocles, son of Tolmæus. Cythera is an island : it lies upon the coast of Laconia over against Malea. The inhabitants are Lacedæmonians, resorting thither from the neighbouring coast. A magistrate was sent over yearly from Sparta by the style of judge of Cythera ; the garrison of heavy-armed established there was regularly relieved ; and no care omitted in the good government and management of the place. It was the port which their trading-ships first entered in their return from Egypt and Libya. It was the chief security of Laconia against those piratical parties which might infest it from the sea, from whence alone they are capable of doing them any mischief ; for by its situation it hath entirely the command of the seas of Sicily and Crete. The Athenian armament, therefore, arriving here, with a detachment of ten ships and two thousand heavy-armed, surprise a maritime town which is called Scandea. With the rest of their force they made a descent on that part of the island which is opposite to Malea, and advanced towards the city of Cythera, situated also on the sea, and they found immediately that all the inhabitants were drawn out into the field in readiness to receive them. An engagement ensued, wherein the Cythereans maintained their ground for a small space of time, but then turning about, fled again into their citadel. They soon afterward capitulated with Nicias and his colleagues, submitting to the Athenians at discretion, barring only the penalty of death. Some of the Cythereans had beforehand obtained a conference with Nicias. This rendered the capitulation more easy and expeditious, and not only the present, but all future points were by this means speedily and satisfactorily adjusted. For the Athenians insisted that they should evacuate Cythera, because they were Lacedæmonians, and because the island lay so conveniently on the Laconic coast. The accommodation being once perfected, the Athenians, having secured Scandea, the fortress situated upon the harbour, and fixed a garrison in Cythera, stood away for Asine and Helas, and most of the adjacent places on the coast. There they made descents, and reposing themselves in the nights at the most convenient of those places, they spent about seven days in ravaging the country.

The Lacedæmonians, though they saw the Athenians had

possessed themselves of Cythera, and expected further that they would proceed to make more such descents upon their territories, yet nowhere drew together in a body to repulse them. They only stationed their parties of guard in such posts as were of greatest importance. In other respects they exerted their utmost vigilance, being under apprehensions that the very form of their government was in danger of subversion. Their loss in Sphacteria was unexpected and great indeed. Pylus was now in the hands of the enemy, as was also Cythera. War was bursting in upon them on all sides with irresistible impetuosity. This compelled them, contrary to their usual maxims, to form a body of four hundred horse and archers. If they were ever dejected by the prevalence of fear, at this juncture they were more feelingly so, when they saw the necessity of entering the lists, contrary to all that practice of war to which they had been inured, in a naval contest, and in this against the Athenians, whose passion it was to compute as so much loss whatever they left unattempted. Their general misfortune besides, which so suddenly and so fast had poured in upon them, had thrown them into the utmost consternation. They excessively dreaded the weight of such another calamity as they had been sensible of in the blow at Sphacteria. Intimidated thus, they durst no longer think of fighting; nay, whatever measures they concerted, they at once desponded of success, as their minds, accustomed until of late to an uninterrupted career of good fortune, were now foreboding nothing but disappointment. Thus, for the most part, while the Athenians were extending their devastations all along their coasts, they remained inactive. Each party on guard, though the enemy made a descent in the face of their post, knowing themselves inferior in number, and sadly dispirited, made no offer to check them. One party indeed, which was posted near Coryta and Aphrodisia, perceiving the light-armed of the enemy to be straggling, ran speedily to charge them; but when the heavy-armed advanced to their support, they retreated with so much precipitation, that some, though few, of them were killed and their arms rifled. The Athenians, after erecting a trophy, re-embarked and repassed to Cythera.

From hence they sailed again along the coast of the Limerian Epidaurus; and, after ravaging part of that district, they arrived at Thyrea, which, though it lies in the district called

Cynuria, is the frontier town which parts Argia and Laconia. This place belonged to the Lacedæmonians, who had assigned it for the residence of the exiled Æginetæ, in requital of the services they had done them at the time of the earthquake and the insurrection of the Helots, and farther, because, though subject to the Athenians, they had ever firmly abode in the Lacedæmonian interest. The Æginetæ, thus again invaded by the Athenians, abandoned the fortification upon the seaside which they were busy in throwing up, and retreated into the city, which was the place of their residence, seated higher up, at the distance of about ten stadia* from the shore. A party of Lacedæmonians had been posted there to assist those who were employed in the new fortification; and yet, though earnestly pressed by the Æginetæ, they refused to accompany them within their walls, being averse to run the risk of a new blockade. They chose rather to retreat towards the eminences, as they judged themselves disabled by the inferiority of their number from facing the enemy, and remained there in a state of inaction.

By this time the Athenians, having completed their landing, and advanced with their whole force, took Thyrea by storm. They set the city in flames, and destroyed whatever was within it. Such of the Æginetæ as survived the instant carnage, they carried prisoners to Athens; and with them Tantalus, son of Patrocles, who commanded there as general for the Lacedæmonians. He had been wounded, and so taken prisoner. They also carried thither some few persons whom they had taken in Cythera, such as for its security it was expedient to remove. These the Athenians, after a consultation, decreed "to be disposed of in the islands, but the rest of the Cythereans still to occupy their own land, subjected to the yearly tribute of four talents;† but the Æginetæ, as many as had been taken prisoners, to be all instantly put to death" (to gratify that eternal rancour they bore them), "and Tantalus to be kept in prison along with his countrymen taken in Sphacteria."

The same summer a suspension of arms was agreed on in Sicily; first, between the Camarineans and Geloans: and then the other Sicilians, holding a general congress at Gela,

* About a mile.

† Seven hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling.

whither the ambassadors from the several states resorted, entered into conferences about the terms of a general reconciliation. Many different expedients were proposed on all sides, and many disputes arose, each insisting on a reparation suitable to their own private sense of grievance. But Hermocrates,* the son of Hermon, a Syracusan, who laboured most of any at a firm reunion, delivered his sentiments thus :

“ I am here the representative, ye men of Sicily, of one, and not the meanest, of the Sicilian states, nor yet the most exhausted by war ; and what I am going to propose is calculated for, and will, I am convinced, most effectually secure, the welfare of our common country. And what need is there now to run over in minute detail the calamities inseparable from war, in the hearing of men who have experienced them all ? None ever plunge headlong into these through an utter ignorance of them ; nor, when the views are fixed on gratifying ambition, are men used to be deterred by fear. The acquisitions proposed in the latter case are generally imagined to overbalance dangers : and the former choose rather to submit to hazards than suffer diminution of their present enjoyments. Yet, where the parties, actuated by these different views, embroil themselves at a juncture when it is impossible to succeed, exhortations to a mutual agreement are then most highly expedient.

“ To be influenced by such exhortations must at present be highly for the advantage of us all. For it was the strong desire of fixing our own separate views on a firm establishment which at first embroiled us in this war, and which at present raiseth such mutual altercations even during our endeavours to effect an accommodation : and, in fine, unless

* This great and accomplished Syracusan seems to be ushered into this history with peculiar dignity, as the very mouth of Sicily, exhorting them all to concord and unanimity, and teaching them the method of securing the welfare and glory of their common country upon the noblest plan. This is noted merely to draw upon him the attention of the reader. He will act afterward in the most illustrious scenes, and show himself on all occasions a man of true honour and probity, a firm and disinterested patriot, an excellent statesman, and a most able commander. The Athenians never had a more determined or a more generous enemy. But that will not hinder our historian from representing him in all his merit.

matters can be so equally adjusted as to satisfy all parties, we shall again have recourse to arms. But then, we ought to recollect, that not merely for securing our separate interests, if we would act like men of sense, is this present congress opened ; but, to concert the best measures within our reach to preserve, if possible, our country from falling, and, as I judge, in great danger of falling, a sacrifice to Athenian ambition. It is to convince you how necessary a reunion is, not so much from what I can urge as from the light these very Athenians themselves hold out before you. Possessed of a power far superior to any other Grecians, here they lie among us with a few ships, to note down our indiscretions ; and, under the plausible pretext of alliance, though with malice lurking in their hearts, they are studying to improve them in a specious manner to their own advantage. For should war be again our option, and in it should the assistance of men be accepted, who, though uninvited, would be glad to invade us, while we are harassing and exhausting one another, and cutting open for these Athenians a road to our subjection, it is much to be apprehended that, when once they behold our strength at the lowest ebb, they will pay us a visit with more formidable armaments, and exert their utmost endeavours to complete our destruction.

“ It becomes each party among us, provided we know what is really our interest, to form alliances and to launch in hazardous attempts, rather to acquire what belongs to others than to prejudice what themselves at present possess ; and to rest assured that sedition must ruin our several states, nay, Sicily itself, of which we, the joint possessors, are ready, are all of us ready, to be supplanted by hostile treachery, while mutually embroiled in our domestic quarrels. It is high time we were convinced of this, that every individual might be reconciled with his neighbour, and community with community, and all in general combine together to preserve the whole of Sicily ; that our ears be deaf to the mischievous suggestions, that those among us of Doric descent are enemies to every thing that is Attic, while those of Chalcidic, because of that Ionian affinity, are sure of their protection. The Athenians invade us not from private enmity, because we are peopled here from these divided races, but to gratify their lust after those blessings in which Sicily abounds, and which at present we jointly possess. Nay, this they

have already clearly declared, by their ready compliance with the invitation of those of the Chalcidic race. For though they have never claimed assistance from hence by virtue of their natural attachments here, yet they have shown a greater readiness in support of those than any compact between them required. Yet, though the Athenians be in this manner rapacious, in this manner politic, by me at least they ought to be forgiven; since I blame not men who are greedy of empire, but such as are too eager to bend their necks to their yoke; because it is the constant never-failing turn of the human temper to control who will submit, but to make head against more powerful encroachments. As for us, who know these things, and yet will not timely provide against them, though each in this assembly be separately convinced that it demands our greatest attention to unite in dissipating a storm which threatens us all, we err strangely in our conduct; especially when its diversion might be so readily effected, would we only bring our private quarrels to an amicable determination: for it is not from quarters of their own that the Athenians rush thus to annoy us, but from ground which belongs to those who invited them. Thus, of course, without any intervening trouble, one war will not be terminated by another, but dissension will at once subside in peace. And these new-comers, who under specious colours are here for our ruin, must return again with a disappointment which they may as speciously palliate. So desirable a benefit will at once infallibly accrue from proper determinations in regard to the Athenians.

“That peace is the greatest of human blessings, is a truth which all the world allows: what hinders us, then, why we should not firmly establish it with one another? or do you rather imagine, that if the condition of one man be happy and that of another be wretched, tranquillity will not contribute sooner than warfare to amend the state of the latter, and to preserve the state of the former from a sad reverse? or that peace is not better calculated to preserve unimpaired the honours and splendours of the happy, and all other blessings, which, should we descend to a minute detail, might largely be recounted, or might be set in the strongest light by opposing to them the calamities which ensue from war? Fix your minds, therefore, on these considerations, that you may not overlook my admonitions, but, in compliance

with them, look out respectively in time for expedients of prevention.

“In case it be presumed that success must result from power, without taking into debate the justice or violence of the cause, let me detect the dangerous fallacy of such a sanguine hope, which must be blasted in the end. Many are they, it is well known, who would have gratified their revenge on violent oppressors, and many who have exerted their utmost force for their own aggrandizement; yet the first, so far from accomplishing their revenge, have met destruction in its pursuit; and it has been the fate of the latter, instead of enlarging, to suffer the loss of what they already possessed. For revenge is not certain, because justly sought after to retaliate violence; nor is power assured of its end, because invigorated with sanguine expectation. Events are for the most part determined by the fallible, unsteady balance of futurity; which, though deceivable as deceit can be, yet holds out before us the most instructive hints. For thus, armed equally beforehand with needful apprehension, we embark into mutual contest with wise premeditation. Now therefore, checked by the gloomy dread of the yet invisible event, and awed on all sides by the terrors which the presence of these Athenians spreads among us; deterred further by those hopes already blasted, which assured us alternately of success against one another, had not they interfered to obstruct and control us; let us send far away from Sicily these enemies that are hovering about us; let us enter into firm and lasting union with one another; at least, let us conclude a truce for so long a time as can possibly be agreed, and defer our own private disputes to a remote decision. In a word, let us acknowledge, that, if my advice takes place, we shall continue free in our respective communities, where, masters of ourselves and accountable to none beside, we shall be enabled to recompense both our friends and our foes according to their deserts. But, in case it be obstinately rejected, and the mischievous insinuations of others prevail, why then adieu henceforth to the just vindication of our own wrongs; or, if we are violently bent upon effecting it, we must strike up a friendship with unrelenting foes, and must range ourselves in opposition there where nature hath most closely attached us.

“For my own part, who now, as I observed at setting out,

represent the greatest of the Sicilian states, and in this character am more accustomed to attack another than to defend myself, I here, in her name, conjure you to make use of conviction, and unite together in a speedy accommodation, nor so eagerly to thirst after the damage of our foes as to plunge ourselves into irreparable mischiefs. I am not conscious to myself of that foolish haughtiness of heart, which expects to be absolute in its own private will; or that fortune, whose master I am not, should attend my orders; but I am ready to give way to good sense and reason. And I require you all respectively thus to give way to one another, and not to wait till you are compelled to do so by your enemies. It can argue no baseness for kinsmen to give way to kinsmen, a Dorian to a Dorian, or a Chalcidean to others of his own race. Nay, what is most comprehensive, we are all neighbours, all joint inhabitants of the same land, a land washed round by the sea, and all styled by the same common name of Sicilians. Wars indeed in the course of time I foresee we shall wage upon one another, and future conferences will again be held, and mutual friendship shall thus revive. But when foreigners invade us, let us be wise enough to unite our strength, and drive them from our shores: for to be weakened in any of our members, must endanger the destruction of the whole; and to such confederates and such mediators we will never for the future have recourse.

"If to such conduct we adhere, we shall immediately procure a double blessing for Sicily. We shall deliver her from the Athenians and a domestic war. For the future we shall retain the free possession of her in our own hands, and more easily disconcert any projects that hereafter may be formed against her."

The Sicilians acknowledged the weight of these arguments thus urged by Hermocrates, and all the several parties joined in one common resolution "to put an end to the war, each retaining what they were at present possessed of; but that Morgantina should be restored to the Camarineans upon the payment of a certain sum of money to the Syracusans." Such also as were confederated with the Athenians, addressing themselves to the Athenian commanders, notified their own readiness to acquiesce in these terms, and their resolution to be comprehended in the same peace. These approving the measure, the last hand was put to the accommodation.

The Athenian fleet, which had no longer any business there, sailed away from Sicily. But the people at Athens manifested their displeasure against the commanders at their return home, by passing a sentence of banishment against Pythodorus and Sophocles, and subjecting Eurymedon, who was the third, to a pecuniary mulct; as if, when able to have perfected the reduction of Sicily, they had been bribed to desist. They had enjoyed so long a career of good fortune, that they imagined nothing could disconcert their schemes; that enterprises of the greatest as well as of small importance, no matter whether adequately or insufficiently supported, must be ended to their wish. This was owing to the unexpected good luck with which most of their projects had of late succeeded, and now invigorated all their expectations.

The same summer, the Megareans of the city of Megara, pressed hard by the Athenians, who constantly twice a year made an inroad into their territory with their whole united force; harassed at the same time by their own outlaws, who, having been ejected by the popular party in the train of a sedition, had settled at Pegæ, and from thence were continually plundering them, began to have some conference about the expediency of recalling their outlaws, that their city might not doubly be exposed to ruin. The friends of these exiles, perceiving such a design to be in agitation, insisted more openly than ever that the affair should be regularly considered. The leaders of the people, being convinced that their own and the strength of the people united, in their present low condition, could not possibly overrule it, were so far influenced by their fears as to make a secret offer to the Athenian generals, Hippocrates the son of Aripbro, and Demosthenes the son of Alcisthenes, "to put the city into their hands;" concluding they should be less endangered by such a step than by the restoration of the exiles whom they themselves had ejected. It was agreed, that in the first place the Athenians should take possession of the long walls (these were eight stadia* in length, reaching down from the city to Nissæa their port), to prevent any succour which might be sent from Nissæa by the Peloponnesians, since there alone they kept their garrison for the security of Megara. After this, they promised their endeavours to put them in possession of

* About three quarters of a mile.

the upper city. And this they would be able to effect more easily when the former point was once secured.

The Athenians, therefore, when all was fixed and determined on both sides, crossed over by night to Minoa, the island of the Megareans, with six hundred heavy-armed, commanded by Hippocrates, and sat themselves down in a hollow whence the bricks for the walls had been taken, and which lay near enough for their purpose : while another body, under Demosthenes the other commander, consisting of light-armed Plataeans and the Athenian patrols, concealed themselves near the temple of Mars, which lies still nearer. Not a soul within the city knew any thing of these motions, excepting those whose vigilance it concerned this night to observe them. When the morning was ready to break, the plotters of Megara proceeded thus :—

Through a series of time they had established a custom to have the gates of the long walls opened to them in the night, by carrying out a wherry upon a carriage, which they persuaded the officers posted there they conveyed nightly down the ditch into the sea, and so went upon a cruise. And before it was light, bringing it back again to the walls upon the carriage, they conveyed it through the gates, that it might escape the notice of the Athenian watch on Minoa, who by this means might be eluded, as they never could descry any boat in the harbour. The carriage was now at the gates, which were opened as usual for the reception of the wherry. This the Athenians observing (for this was the signal agreed on) came running from their place of ambush to take possession of the gates before they could be shut again. The very moment the carriage was between, and obstructed the closing them together, both they and the Megarean coadjutors put the watch which was posted at the gates to the sword. The Plataeans and patrolling parties under Demosthenes rushed in first to that spot where the trophy now stands, and having thus gained an entrance (for the Peloponnesians who were nearest had taken the alarm), the Plataeans made good their ground against those who attacked them, and secured the gates till the heavy-armed Athenians, who were coming up with all speed, had entered. Each of these Athenians afterward, so fast as he got in, advanced along the wall. The Peloponnesian guards, though few in number, made head against them for a time ; some of them soon

dropped, and then the rest ran speedily off. They were dismayed at such an attack from their enemies in the night; and, as the treacherous Megareans fought against them, they concluded that all the Megareans were combined together in betraying them. It happened farther that an Athenian herald had proclaimed, of his own accord, that "such Megareans as were willing to side with the Athenians should throw down their arms." When the Peloponnesians heard this, they at once quitted their posts; and, seriously believing that all the Megareans had combined to betray them, fled again into Nisea.

At the time of morning's dawn, the long walls being thus surprised, and the Megareans within the city thrown into a tumult, the agents for the Athenians, in concert with all their accomplices in the plot, insisted on the necessity to throw open the city gates, and march out to battle; since it had been agreed between them, that so soon as ever the gates were thus opened, the Athenians should rush in. There was a method to be observed on their side, in order to be distinguished; this was, to besmear themselves with ointment, that they might receive no harm. Their security would have been greater had they opened the gates at once; for now four thousand heavy-armed Athenians, and six hundred horsemen, who had marched in the night from Eleusis, according to a prior disposition, were at hand. But while the accomplices, properly besmeared, stood ready at the gates, one of their own party, who was privy to the whole plot, discovered it to the other Megareans. These, drawing up together, came forward in a body, and denied "the expediency of marching out (since formerly, when stronger than now, they durst not hazard such a step), or running such a manifest risk of losing the city; and, should any one affirm the contrary, the point should be instantly determined by blows." They gave not the least hint as if they had discovered the design, but strenuously insisted that their own measure was most advisable, and stood firm together for the security of the gates. Thus it was no longer possible for the conspirators to put their plot in execution.

The Athenian commanders, being sensible that the project had been somehow crossed, and that they were not able themselves to take the city by storm, immediately ran up a wall to invest Nisea; concluding that, could they carry it before any

succours came up, it would be impossible for Megara to hold out much longer. Iron and workmen, and all proper materials, were quickly supplied them from Athens. They began at the wall which they had lately surprised; they ran it along for some time parallel with Megara, and then down to the sea on both sides of Nisæa. The work, both of ditch and wall, was divided among the army. They made use of the stones and bricks of the suburbs, and having felled some trees and wood, they strengthened what was weak with an additional palisade. The houses of the suburbs, being topped with battlements, served the use of turrets. This whole day they plied hard at the work; and about the evening of the succeeding day it was nearly completed. The garrison within Nisæa was in great consternation. They laboured already under a scarcity of provisions, which they had been used to fetch daily from the upper city. Thus concluding that the Peloponnesians could not succour them with sufficient expedition, and imagining the Megareans were combined against them, they capitulated with the Athenians on the following terms:—

“To be dismissed every man at a certain ransom, after delivering up their arms.

“But as for the Lacedæmonians, their commander, and every other person in that number, these to be disposed of by the Athenians at discretion.”

These terms being agreed to, they evacuated Nisæa. And the Athenians, having thus cut off their long walls from the city of the Megareans, and possessed themselves of Nisæa, were preparing to accomplish what was yet to be done.

But Brasidas, son of Tellis, the Lacedæmonian, happened at this time to be about Sicyon and Corinth, levying forces to march for Thrace. He was no sooner informed of the surprisal of the walls, than he trembled for the Peloponnesians in Nisæa, and lest Megara should be taken. He summoned the Boeotians to attend him expeditiously with their forces at Tripodiscus (the place so named is a village of the Megaris, under the mountain Geranea), whither he was marching himself, with two thousand seven hundred heavy-armed Corinthians, four hundred Phliasians, six hundred Sicyonians, and what levies he had already made upon his own account. He imagined he might come up before Nisæa could be taken. But hearing the contrary (for he came up in the night to Tripodiscus), with a picked body of three hundred men, before

the news of his march could be spread, he approached to the city of Megara undescried by the Athenians, who were posted near the sea. He intended to declare that he was ready to attempt, and in fact would have been glad to have effected, the recovery of Nisæa. But it was principally his view to get admission into Megara, and provide for its security. He demanded admission, assuring them he had great hope of recovering Nisæa. But the factions in Megara, perplexed at this step of Brasidas—on one side, lest he meant to reinstate the exiles by ejecting them; the other, lest the people with such an apprehension might at once fall upon them, and their city, thus plunged into a tumult of arms, might be lost, if the Athenians, who lay ready in ambush, should seize it, refused him admittance; and both factions thought proper, without any stir, to await the event. For it was severally their full expectation, that a battle must ensue between the Athenians and these new-comers; and then, without plunging themselves into unnecessary hazards, they might join their own favourite party if victorious.

Brasidas, when he could not prevail, withdrew again to the main of his army. By the succeeding dawn the Bœotians joined him, who had resolved to succour Megara, even previous to the summons sent by Brasidas, since they regarded the danger that place was in as their own. They were actually advanced with their whole force as far as Platæa; and, the messenger having met with them here, they became much more eager than before. They sent forward a detachment of two-and-twenty hundred heavy-armed, and six hundred horsemen, but dismissed the multitude to their own homes. When the whole force was thus united, consisting of at least six thousand heavy-armed, and the heavy-armed Athenians stood drawn up in order near Nisæa and the seashore, while their light-armed were straggling about the plain, the Bœotian cavalry made an unexpected sally against those stragglers, and chased them to the shore: for hitherto no aid whatever had taken the field in behalf of the Megareans. The Athenian cavalry clapped spurs to repel the Bœotian, and a battle ensued. The horse were a long time thus engaged, and both sides claimed a victory. For the general of the Bœotian cavalry, and a small number of his party, the Athenians drove before them to Nisæa, where they put them to the sword and rifled them. They remained masters of the

dead bodies, gave them up afterward by a truce, and erected a trophy : but neither side so keeping their ground as to render the action decisive, they retreated as it were by consent ; the Bœotians to their main army, and the Athenians to Nisæa.

Brasidas, after this, advanced nearer to the sea and to the city of Megara with his army. Having occupied there some advantageous ground, they drew up in order and stood still, imagining the Athenians would attack them ; and assured that the Megareans were intently observing for whom the victory might declare. In both these respects, they judged their present posture the most judicious ; because it was not their own business to attack, or voluntarily to run into conflict and danger ; and thus, having manifestly exhibited their alacrity to act defensively, a victory might justly be ascribed to them without the expense of a battle. In regard, farther, to the Megareans, the consequence could not but be fortunate : for, in case the latter had never beheld them thus prompt in their succour, they would have stopped all farther risk, and so undoubtedly they should have lost the city, as men completely vanquished ; but now, should the Athenians decline an engagement, the points for which they themselves came thither must be secured without a blow ; which proved to be the result. For the Megareans, when the Athenians came out and drew up in order close to the long walls, and then, as the enemy did not advance to attack them, stood quiet in their ranks ; their commanders also judging the hazard by no means equal, and themselves, who had so far been successful, not at all concerned to begin an engagement against superior numbers, in which, should they prevail, they could only take Megara, but, should they miscarry, must lose the flower of their domestic strength, especially as their opponents would act in probability with more daring resolution, since, as the large strength they had now in the field consisted only of quotas from several constituents, they hazarded but little ; thus facing one another for a considerable space, and neither side presuming to make an attack, till each at length wheeled off, the Athenians first towards Nisæa, and the Peloponnesians again to their former post : then, I say, the Megareans in the interest of the exiles, regarding Brasidas as victor, and animated by the refusal of attack on the Athenian side, opened the gates of Megara to Brasidas himself, and the several commanders from the auxiliary states ; and,

having given them admission, proceeded with them to consultation, while the partisans of the Athenian interest were in the utmost consternation.

Soon afterward, the confederates being dismissed to their respective cities, Brasidas also himself returned to Corinth, to continue his preparations for that Thracian expedition, in which before this avocation he had been intently employed.

The Athenians also being now marched homewards, the Megareans in the city, who had acted most zealously in favour of the Athenians, finding all their practices detected, stole off as fast as possible. The others, after concerting the proper steps with the friends of the exiles, fetched them home from Pegæ, having first administered to them the most solemn oaths "to think no more on former injuries, and to promote the true welfare of the city to the utmost of their power."

But these, when reinvested with authority, and taking a review of the troops of the city, having previously disposed some bands of soldiers in a proper manner, picked out about a hundred persons of their enemies, and who they thought had busied themselves most in favour of the Athenians. And having compelled the people to pass a public vote upon them, they were condemned to die, and suffered an instant execution. They farther new-modelled the government of Megara into almost an oligarchy. And this change, though introduced by an inconsiderable body of men, nay, what is more, in the train of sedition, yet continued for a long space of time in full force at Megara.

The same summer, the Mityleneans being intent on executing their design of fortifying Antandrus, Demodocus and Aristides, who commanded the Athenian squadron for levying contributions, and were now at the Hellespont (for Lamachus, the third in the commission, had been detached with ten ships towards Pontus), when informed of what was thus in agitation, became apprehensive that Antandrus might prove of as bad consequence to them as Anæa in Samos had already done: wherein the Samian exiles, having fortified themselves, were not only serviceable to the Peloponnesians at sea by furnishing them with pilots, but, farther, were continually alarming the Samians at home, and sheltering their deserters. From these apprehensions they assembled a force from among their dependants, sailed thither, and having defeated in battle

those who came out of Antandrus to oppose them, gain once more possession of that town. And no long time after, Lamachus, who had been detached to Pontus, having anchored in the river Calix in the district of Heraclea, lost all his ships. A heavy rain had fallen in the upper country, and the land-flood rushing suddenly down, bore them all away before it. He himself and the men under his command were forced to march over land through Bithynia (possessed by those Thracians who are seated on the other side of the strait in Asia) to Chalcedon, a colony of Megareans in the mouth of the Euxine Sea.

This summer also Demosthenes, immediately after he had quitted the Megaris, with the command of forty sail of Athenians, arrived at Naupactus. For with him and with Hippocrates, some persons of the Boeotian cities in those parts had been concerting schemes how to change the government of those cities, and introduce a democracy on the Athenian model. The first author of this scheme was Ptoeodorus, an exile from Thebes, and matters were now ready for execution.

Some of them had undertaken to betray Siphæ : Siphæ is a maritime town in the district of Thespiæ, upon the Gulf of Crissa. Others of Orchomenus engaged for Chæroneæ, a town tributary to that Orchomenus which was formerly called the Minyeian, but now the Boeotian. Some Orchomenian exiles were the chief undertakers of this point, and were hiring soldiers for the purpose from Peloponnesus. Chæroneæ is situated on the edge of Boeotia, towards Phanotis of Phocis, and is in part inhabited by Phocians. The share assigned to the Athenians was the surprisal of Delium, a temple of Apollo in Tanagra, looking towards Eubœa. These things farther were to be achieved on a day prefixed, that the Boeotians might be disabled from rushing to the rescue of Delium with all their force, by the necessity of staying at home to defend their respective habitations. Should the attempt succeed, and Delium once be fortified, they easily presumed that, though the change of the Boeotian government might not suddenly be effected, yet, when those towns were in their hands, when their devastations were extended all over the country, and places of safe retreat lay near at hand for their parties, things could not long remain in their former posture ; but, in process of time, when the Athenians appeared in support of the revolted, and the Boeotians could not

unite in a body to oppose them, the designed revolution must necessarily take place. This was the nature of the scheme at present in agitation.

Hippocrates, having the whole force of Athens under his command, was ready at the proper time to march into Bœotia. But he had despatched Demosthenes beforehand to Naupactus with forty ships, that, after he had collected a sufficient force in those parts from the Acarnanians and their other confederates, he should appear with his fleet before Siphæ, which was then to be betrayed to him. A day also was fixed upon between them, in which both of them were at once to execute the parts assigned them.

Demosthenes, being arrived at Naupactus, found the Oenadæ already compelled by the united Acarnanians into an association with the confederates of Athens. He marched away, therefore, at the head of the whole confederacy in those parts, and invaded first Salynthus and the Agræans; and having carried some other points, got all in readiness to show himself before Siphæ at the time appointed.

About the same time this summer Brasidas, at the head of seventeen hundred heavy-armed, began his march towards Thrace. When he was come up to Heraclea in Trachis, he despatched a messenger beforehand to his correspondents in Pharsalus, to beg a safe conduct for himself and his army. And as soon as he was met at Melitia of Achæa by Panærus, and Dorus, and Hippolochidas, and Torylaus, and Strophæus, who had been formerly the public host of the Chalcidæans, he continued his march forwards. Others also of the Thesalians assisted in conducting him, and from Larissa, Niconidas, the friend of Perdiccas. The passage through Thessaly without proper guides is always difficult, and must be more so to an armed body. Besides, to attempt such a thing through a neighbouring dominion without permission first obtained, hath ever been regarded by all the Grecians with a jealous eye, and the bulk of the Thesalians had been ever well-affected to the Athenians. Nor could Brasidas have possibly effected it, had not the Thesalian been rather despotic than free governments. For upon his route he was stopped at the river Enipeus by some of contrary sentiments to the rest of their countrymen, who ordered him to proceed at his peril, and taxed him with injustice in having come so far without the general permission. His conductors told

them in return, that "without such permission he should not proceed ; but, as he had come among them on a sudden, they thought themselves obliged in friendship to conduct him." Brasidas also gave them strong assurances that "he was come thither for the service of Thessaly and of them ; that his arms were not intended against them, but against the common enemy, the Athenians ; that he never suspected any enmity between Thessalians and Lacedæmonians, why they might not tread upon one another's ground ; that even now, should they withhold their consent, he was neither willing nor indeed able to proceed ; but," he conjured them, "however, to give him no molestation." Having heard these declarations, they acquiesced and withdrew. Brasidas now, by the advice of his conductors, advanced with the utmost speed without ever halting, in order to anticipate fresh and more potent obstruction. Nay, the very same day that he left Melitia, he advanced as far as to Pharsalus, and encamped upon the banks of the Apidanus. From thence he proceeded to Phacium, and from thence into Peræbia. Being so far advanced, his Thessalian guides received their dismissal ; and the Peræbians, who are tributaries to the Thessalians, escorted him to Dium in the kingdom of Perdiccas ; it is a fortress of Macedonia, situated under Mount Olympus, on the Thessalian side. In this manner Brasidas, advancing so expeditiously as to prevent all obstruction, completed his passage through Thessaly, and arrived in the dominions of Perdiccas and the region of Chalcis. For those in Thrace who revolted from the Athenians had joined with Perdiccas in procuring this auxiliary force out of Peloponnesus, because the great success of the Athenians had struck a terror among them. The Chalcideans were persuaded that they should be first attacked by the Athenians ; and in truth their neighbour-states, who yet persevered in their obedience, were secretly instigating them to it. Perdiccas, indeed, had not yet declared himself their enemy ; but he dreaded the vengeance of the Athenians for former grudges ; and now he had a scheme at heart for the subjection of Arribæus, King of the Lyncestians.

Other points concurred to facilitate the procurement of such a succour from Peloponnesus, such as the misfortunes by which the Lacedæmonians at present were afflicted : for, the Athenians pressing hard on Peloponnesus, and not least

of all on Laconia, they hoped, in case they could equally annoy them in this quarter, by thus marching an army against their dependants, to effect a diversion. And they were more encouraged by the offers of maintenance for their troops, and solicitations to support revolts. They were at the same time glad of a pretext to rid themselves of their Helots, lest, in the present state of affairs, now that Pylus was in hostile hands, they might be tempted to rebel. This farther gave rise to the following event :—Dreading the youth and number of these slaves (for many precautions have ever been put in practice by Lacedæmonians to curb and awe their Helots), they made public proclamation, that “so many of them as could claim the merit of having done signal service to the Lacedæmonians in the present war, should enter their claims and be rewarded with freedom.” The view in this was to sound them, imagining that such who had the greatness of spirit to claim their freedom in requital of their merit, must be also the ripest for rebellion. About two thousand claimants were adjudged worthy, and accordingly were led about in solemn procession to the temple, crowned with garlands, as men honoured with their freedom. But, in no long time after, they made away with them all : nor hath the world been able to discover in what manner they were thus to a man destroyed.

Now also with alacrity they sent away seven hundred of their heavy-armed under the orders of Brasidas. The rest of his body were mercenaries, whom he had hired in Peloponnesus. And it was in compliance with his own particular desire that Brasidas was employed in the service by the Lacedæmonians.

The Chalcideans, however, were highly satisfied with a person who had ever passed in Sparta for one of the most active and accomplished citizens ; and who, in his foreign employments, had performed very signal services for his country. From his first appearance among them, his justice and moderation so instantly recommended him to the adjacent cities, that some voluntarily submitted, and others were by intrigue put into his possession. By him the Lacedæmonians were actually empowered, if the accommodation they wished for took place, which it afterward did, to make exchange and restitution of towns, and so relieve Peloponnesus from the hardships of war.

Nay more, even in succeeding time, upon the breaking out of the Sicilian war, the virtue and prudence of Brasidas exerted at this juncture, which some attested by their own experience, others upon sound and unsuspected report, imprinted a zeal on the confederates of Athens to go over to the Lacedæmonians. For, having been the first sent out to a foreign trust, and approved in all respects as a worthy man, he left behind him a strong presumption that the rest of his countrymen were like himself.*

So soon, therefore, as it was known at Athens that he was arrived to take upon him the conduct of affairs in Thrace, the Athenians declared Perdiccas their enemy, ascribing this expedition to his cabala, and by strengthening their garrisons kept a strict watch over all their dependants in that quarter.

But Perdiccas, with his own forces, and accompanied by the body under Brasidas, marched against a neighbouring potentate, Arribæus, son of Bromerus, King of the Macedonian Lyncestians; enmity was subsisting between them, and the conquest of him was the point in view. When he had advanced with his army, and in conjunction with Brasidas, to the entrance of Lynceus, Brasidas communicated his intention to hold a parley with Arribæus before he proceeded to act offensively against him; and, if possible, to bring him over to the Lacedæmonian alliance; for Arribæus had already notified by a herald that he was willing to refer the points in dispute to the arbitration of Brasidas. The Chalcidean ambassadors also, who followed the camp, were continually suggesting to him that "he ought not to plunge himself rashly into difficulties for the sake of Perdiccas," designing to reserve him more entirely for their own service. And besides this, the ministers of Perdiccas had declared it at Lacedæmon to be their master's intention to bring over all the neighbouring states into this alliance: so that it was entirely with public views that Brasidas insisted upon treating with Arribæus. But Perdiccas urged in opposition, that "he had not brought Brasidas to be the judge of his controversies, but to execute his vengeance on the enemies he should point out to him; that it would be unjust in Brasidas to treat with Ar-

* When Brasidas was beginning his march for Thrace, he wrote this letter to the ephori at Sparta:—"I will execute your orders in this war, or die."—Plutarch's *Læconic Apothegma*.

ribæus, when he supported half the expense of his troops." Yet, in spite of such remonstrances, and in open defiance of him, Brasidas parleyed. And being satisfied with the offers of Arribæus, he drew off his troops without so much as entering his dominions. But henceforth Perdiccas, looking upon this step as an injury to himself, reduced his contribution of support from a moiety to a third.

Brasidas, however, the same summer, without loss of time, continued the operations of war; and, a little before the vintage, being attended by the Chalcideans, marched towards Acanthus, a colony of the Andrians. The inhabitants of this place were embroiled in a sedition about his reception; a party who co-operated with the Chalcideans were for it; but the people opposed. Yet, fearing the loss of their fruit, which was not quite got in, the people were at last prevailed upon by Brasidas to grant entrance to himself without any attendants, and, after giving him audience, to resolve for themselves. Brasidas was admitted; and, standing forth in the presence of the people, for though a Lacedæmonian he was an able speaker, he harangued them thus:—

"My commission from the Lacedæmonians and the march of their troops hither under my command verify, O ye Acanthians, the declaration made by us, when first we began this war against the Athenians, that we were going to fight for the liberties of Greece. But if our appearance here hath been too long deferred, it should be ascribed to the unexpected turns of war nearer home, where, as we hoped to demolish the Athenians speedily without endangering you, we ought to be exempted from any censure here: for now, you behold us opportunely at hand, and intent in conjunction with you to pull these tyrants down.

"I am surprised, indeed, that your gates should be barred against me, or that my presence should any way chagrin you: for we Lacedæmonians, imagining we were going to confederates, whose wishes were fastened upon us before their eyes could behold us, and from whom we might depend upon the most cordial reception; we, I say, have pierced forwards through a series of dangers, marching many days together through hostile territories, and surmounting every obstacle by a zeal for your service. If, therefore, your affections are alienated from us, or if you act in opposition to your own and to the liberty of the rest of Greece, your conduct must

terribly distress us. And that, not only because you yourselves reject us, but may by such a step deter all others, to whom I shall afterward apply, from co-operating with me. Such obstacles you will raise before me, if you, to whom first I have addressed myself, you who are masters of a city of great importance, and are in esteem for your good sense and discretion, should refuse to receive me. I shall be utterly unable to put a plausible colour upon such a refusal, and shall be exposed to reproach, as if I meant injustice under the cloak of liberty, or came hither too weak and impotent to make head against the Athenian strength, should it be exerted against me.

“And yet with that force, of which at this very moment I am honoured with the command, I marched myself to the succour of Nisæa, and openly defied a superior number of Athenians, who declined the encounter. It is not therefore probable that they can send hither a force to our annoyance equal to that armament they employed at Nisæa: nor am I sent hither to execute the schemes of oppression, but to farther the deliverance of Greece. I have the security of most solemn oaths, sworn by the magistrates of Lacedæmon, that, whatever people I bring over to their alliance shall remain in free possession of their own liberties and laws. And, farther, we are forbid the use of violence and fraud as the means of rendering you dependant on us: but, on the contrary, are to act in support of you who are oppressed with Athenian bondage. Upon reasons so valid do I insist upon it, that I am no longer suspected by you, having given you the strongest assurances that I am no impotent avenger, and that you may boldly abet my cause.

“If there be any person in this assembly who hesitates upon the apprehension that I may betray the city into the hands of a private cabal, let him bid adieu to his fears, and distinguish himself in open confidence. I came not hither to be the tool of faction; I am convinced that liberty can never be re-established by me, if, disregarding ancient constitutions, I enslave the multitude to the few, or the few to the crowd. Such things would be more grievous than the yoke of foreign dominion. And should we Lacedæmonians proceed in this manner, our labours could never merit a return of gratitude, but, instead of honour and glory, foul reproach would be our portion. The crimes on which we have ground-

ed this war against the Athenians would then appear to be our own, and more odious in us for having made parade of disinterested virtue, than in a state which never pretended to it: for it is more base in men of honour to enlarge their power by specious fraud than by open force. The latter, upon the right of that superior strength with which fortune hath invested it, seizeth at once upon its prey; the other can only compass it by the treachery of wicked cunning.

"It is thus that in all concerns of more than ordinary importance we are accustomed to exert the utmost circumspection. And besides the solemn oaths in your favour, you can receive no greater security of our honest intention than the congruity of our actions with our words, from whence the strongest conviction must result, that with what I have suggested you are obliged in interest to comply. But, if all my promises are unavailing, and you declare such compliance impossible; if, professing yourselves our sincere well-wishers, you beg that a denial may not expose you to our resentments; if you allege that the dangers through which your liberty must be sought overbalance the prize; that in justice it ought only to be proposed to such as are able to embrace the offer, but that no one ought to be compelled against his own inclinations; I shall beseech the tutelary gods and heroes of this island to bear me witness, that whereas I come to serve you, and cannot persuade, I must now, by ravaging your country, endeavour to compel you. And, in acting thus, I shall not be conscious to myself of injustice, but shall justify the step on two most cogent motives: for the sake of the Lacedæmonians; lest, while they have only your affections, and not your actual concurrence, they may be prejudiced through the sums of money you pay to the Athenians: for the sake of all the Grecians; that they may not be obstructed by you in their deliverance from bondage. This is the end we propose, and this will justify our proceedings: for without the purpose of a public good, we Lacedæmonians ought not to set people at liberty against their wills. We are not greedy of empire, but we are eager to pull down the tyranny of others. And how could we answer it to the body of Greece, if, when we have undertaken to give liberty to them all, we indolently suffer our endeavours to be traversed by you?

"Deliberate seriously on these important points, and ani-

mate yourselves with the glorious ambition of being the first who enter the lists for the liberties of Greece, of gaining an eternal renown, of securing the uninterrupted possession of your private properties, and investing the state of which you are members with the most honourable* of all titles."

Here Brasidas concluded. And the Acanthians, who had already heard this affair largely discussed on both sides, and secretly declared their votes—the majority, because the arguments of Brasidas were prevailing, and because they dreaded the loss of their fruit, resolved to revolt from the Athenians. Then they required of Brasidas himself to swear the oath of their security, which the Lacedæmonian magistrates had at his departure enjoined him to take, that "whatever people was brought over into their alliance by him should remain in possession of their own liberties and laws," and this done, they received his army. Not long after Stagyrus also, another colony of the Andrians, revolted. And thus ended the transactions of this summer.

Very early in the succeeding winter, when the strong places of Bœotia were to have been betrayed to Hippocrates and Demosthenes, the Athenian commanders, preparatory to which Demosthenes was to show himself with his fleet before Siphæ, and the other to march to Delium, there happened a mistake about the days prefixed for execution. Demosthenes, indeed, who steered towards Siphæ, and had on board the Acarnanians, and many of the confederates of that quarter, was totally disappointed. The whole scheme had been betrayed by Nicomachus, the Phocian of Phanotis, who gave information of it to the Lacedæmonians, and they to the Bœotians. All Bœotians now taking up arms to prevent consequences (for Hippocrates was not yet in their country to distress them on that side), Siphæ and Chæronea are secured in time. And so soon as the conspirators perceived that things went wrong, they gave up all farther thoughts of exciting commotions in the cities.

Hippocrates having summoned into the field the whole force of Athens, as well citizens as sojourners, not excepting even foreigners who chanced at that time to be there, arrived too late before Delium, not before the Bœotians were returned home again from Siphæ. He encamped his forces, and set

* Free.

about fortifying Delium, the temple of Apollo, in the following manner:—Round about the temple and its precincts they sunk a ditch: of the earth thrown up they formed a rampart instead of a wall. They drove into the ground on each side a row of stakes, and then threw on the vines they cut from within the precincts of the temple. They did the same by the stones and bricks of the adjacent buildings which had been demolished, and omitted no expedient to give height and substance to the work. They erected wooden turrets upon such spots as seemed most to require it. No part of the old pile of the temple was now standing: the portico, which stood the longest, had lately fallen down. They began the work the third day after their marching out from Athens. That day they plied it, and the following, and continued it on the fifth till the time of repast. Then, the work being for the most part completed, they drew off their army to the distance of about ten stadia* from Delium, in order to return home. Their light-armed indeed, for the most part, marched off directly; but the heavy-armed, halting there, sat down upon their arms.

Hippocrates stayed behind for the time necessary to post the proper guards, and to put the finishing hand to those parts of the fortification which were not yet perfectly completed. But during all this space, the Bœotians had been employed in drawing their forces together to Tanagra. When the quotas from the several cities were come up, and they perceived the Athenians were filing off towards Athens, the other rulers of Bœotia, for they were eleven in all, declared their resolution not to engage, since the enemy was no longer on Bœotian ground: for the Athenians, when they grounded their arms, were within the borders of Oropia. But Pagondas, the son of Æoladas, one of the Bœotian rulers in the right of Thebes, and at this time in the supreme command, in concert with Arianthidas, the son of Lysimachidas, declared for fighting. He judged it expedient to hazard an engagement; and addressing himself to every battalion apart, lest calling them together might occasion them to abandon their arms, he prevailed upon the Bœotians to march up to the Athenians, and to offer battle. His exhortation to each was worded thus:—

“It ought never, ye men of Bœotia, to have entered into the

* About an English mile.

hearts of any of your rulers, that it is improper for us to attack the Athenians, because we find them not upon our own soil. For they, out of a neighbouring country, have rushed into Bœotia, and have fortified a post in it, from whence they intend to ravage and annoy us. And our enemies in short they are, in whatever place we find them, from what place soever they march to execute hostilities against us. Now, therefore, let him who hath judged this step we are taking hazardous and insecure, acknowledge and forego his error. Cautious and dilatory measures are not to be adhered to by men who are invaded, and whose all is at stake; they are expedient only for those whose properties are secure, and who, bent on rapine, exert their malice in the invasion of others. But it is eternally the duty of you Bœotians to combat such foreigners as presume to invade you, either upon your own or your neighbour's ground, no matter which. And this above all must be done against Athenians, not only because they are Athenians, but because they are the nearest borderers upon us. For it is a maxim allowed, that no state can possibly preserve itself free, unless it be a match for its neighbouring powers.

“Let me add farther, that when men are bent on enslaving not neighbours only, but even such people as are more remote, how can it be judged improper to encounter such, so long as we can find ground whereon to stand? Call to mind, for your present information, the Eubœans, situated in yon island opposite to us; call to mind the present disposition of the bulk of Greece in regard to these Athenians. Why should we forget, that neighbouring states so often battle one another about settling their various boundaries; whereas, should we be vanquished, our whole country will be turned merely into one heap of limitation, and that never again by us to be disputed? For when once they have entered upon it, they will remain the masters of it all beyond control. So much more have we to fear from these neighbours of ours than any other people.

“Those again, who, in all the daring insolence of superior strength, are wont to invade their neighbours, as these Athenians now do us, march with extraordinary degrees of confidence against such as are inactive, and defend themselves only on their own soil. His schemes are more painfully completed, when men sally boldly beyond their borders to meet

the invader, and, if opportunity serves, attack him first. Of this truth our own experience will amply convince us. For ever since the defeat we gave these very men at Coronea, when, taking the advantage of our seditions, they had possessed themselves of our lands, we have kept Bœotia quiet from every alarm till the present. This we ought now to remember, that the seniors among us may proceed as they then began ; that the juniors, the sons of those sires who then displayed such uncommon bravery, may exert themselves to preserve unblemished their hereditary virtues. We ought all to be confident, that the god will fight on our side whose temple they pollute by raising ramparts, and dwelling within its verge : and, as the victims we have offered are fair and auspicious, we ought at once to advance to the charge of these our foes, and make them know, that their lust and rapine they only then can gratify when they invade such cowards as abandon their own defence : but from men who were born to vindicate their own country for ever by the dint of arms, and never unjustly to enslave another, that from such men they shall not get away without that struggle which honour enjoins."

In this manner Pagondas exhorted the Bœotians, and persuaded them to march against the Athenians. He put them instantly in motion, and led them towards the enemy, for it was now late in the day. When he had approached the spot on which they were posted, he halted in a place from whence, as an eminence lay between, they could have no view of one another. There he drew up his men, and made all ready for the attack.

When the news was brought to Hippocrates, who was yet at Delium, that "the enemy is advancing to the charge," he sent orders to the main body to form into the order of battle. And not long after he himself came up, having left about three hundred horse at Delium, to guard that place in case an attempt should be made upon it, or seizing a favourable opportunity to fall upon the rear of the Bœotians during the engagement : not but that the Bœotians had posted a party of their own to watch their motions, and find them employment. When, therefore, the whole disposition was perfected, they showed themselves on the top of the eminence, and there grounded their arms, remaining still in the same order in which they designed to attack ; being in the whole

about seven thousand heavy-armed, more than ten thousand light-armed, a thousand horse, and five hundred targetiers. The right wing was composed of Thebans and those who ranked with them; the centre of the Haliartians, and Coroneans, and Copiensians, and others that live about the lake (Copsæis); and the left of Thespiensians, Tanagreans, and Orchomenians. In the wings were posted the cavalry and light-armed. The Thebans were drawn up in files of twenty-five; the others variously, as circumstances required. And such was the order and disposition of the Bœotians.

On the Athenian side, the heavy-armed, being in number equal to their enemies, were drawn up in one entire body of eight in depth. Their cavalry was posted on either wing. But light-armed soldiers, armed as was fitting, the Athenians had none at this juncture, neither in the field nor in the city. The number which had taken the field at first to attend this expedition exceeded many times over the number of the enemy; but then most of them had no arms at all, since the summons had been extended to all who resided in Athens, both citizens and foreigners. The crowd of these, so soon as ever the route was pointed homewards, were, excepting a few, gone speedily off: but, when they were drawn up in the order of battle, and were every moment expecting the charge, Hippocrates, the general, showing himself in the front of the Athenians, animated them with the following harangue:—

“The admonition, Athenians, I intend to give you, will be very concise, but such a one is sufficient to the brave; I pretend not to encourage Athenians, but merely to remind them of their duty. Let the thought be a stranger to every heart among you, that we are going to plunge into needless hazards in the territory of a foe. Be it the territory of a foe, yet in it you must fight for the security of your own. And, if we conquer now, the Peloponnesians will never again presume, without the aid of the Bœotian horse, to repeat their inroads into Attica. By one battle, therefore, you acquire this, and secure your own land from future annoyance. Charge therefore your enemies as you ought, with a spirit worthy of the state of Athens—that state which every soul among you boasts to be the first of Greece—and worthy of your great forefathers, who formerly, at Oenophyta, under the conduct of Myronides, defeated these people in the field, and possessed for a time all Bœotia as their prize.”

Hippocrates had not gone along half the line encouraging them in this manner, when he was compelled to desist and leave the greater part of his army unaddressed. For the Bœotians, to whom Pagondas also had given but a short exhortation, and had this moment finished the pœan of attack, were coming down from the eminence. The Athenians advanced to meet them, and both sides came running to the charge. The skirts of both armies could not come to an engagement, as some rivulets that lay between stopped them equally on both sides. The rest closed firm in a stubborn fight, and with mutual thrusts of their shields. The left wing of the Bœotians, even to the centre, was routed by the Athenians, who pressed upon those who composed it, but especially on the Thespiensians: for, the others who were drawn up with them giving way before the shock, the Thespiensians were enclosed in a small compass of ground, where such of them as were slaughtered defended themselves bravely till they were quite hewn down. Some also of the Athenians, disordered in thus encompassing them about, knew not how to distinguish, and slew one another. In this quarter, therefore, the Bœotians were routed, and fled towards those parts where the battle was yet alive. The right wing, in which the Thebans were posted, had the better of the Athenians. They had forced them at first to give ground a little, and pressed upon them to pursue their advantage. It happened that Pagondas had detached two troops of horse (which motion was not perceived) to fetch a compass round the eminence and support the left wing, which was routed. These suddenly appearing in sight, the victorious wing of the Athenians, imagining a fresh army was coming up to the charge, was struck into consternation. And now being distressed on both sides by this last turn, and by the Thebans, who pursued their advantage close, and put them into a total disorder, the whole Athenian army was routed and fled. Some ran towards Delium and the sea, others to Oropus, and others towards Mount Parnes; all to whatever place they hoped was safe. But the Bœotians, especially their horse, and the Locrians, who had come up to the field of battle just as the rout began, pursued them with great execution. But the night putting an end to the chase, the bulk of the flying army preserved themselves more easily.

The day following, such of them as had reached Delium

and Oropus, leaving behind a garrison in Delium, which still remained in their possession, transported themselves by sea to Athens. The Bœotians also, having erected a trophy, carried off their own dead, rifled those of the enemy, and having posted a guard upon the field of battle, retired to Tanagra, and called a consultation about the method of assaulting Delium.

A herald, farther, despatched by the Athenians about their dead, meets upon his way a herald of the Bœotians, who turned him back by assuring him that his errand would be fruitless till he himself should be again returned. The latter, being come to the Athenians, declared to them in the name of the Bœotians :—

“That by their late proceedings they had enormously violated the laws of the Grecians, among whom it was an established rule, that amid their mutual invasions religious places should be ever spared ; whereas the Athenians had not only fortified, but had made Delium a place of habitation ; and whatever profanations mankind can be guilty of, had been there by them committed : that the water, which it would even be impious for the Bœotians themselves to touch, unless by way of ablution before they sacrificed, had been profanely drawn by them for common use ; that for these reasons the Bœotians, in the cause of the god and in their own, invoking the associated demons and Apollo, gave them this early notice to evacuate the sacred place, and clear it of all encumbrances.”

This message being thus delivered by the herald, the Athenians returned this answer to the Bœotians by a herald of their own :—

“That they were hitherto guilty of nothing illegal in regard to the holy place, nor would willingly be so for the future. They had no such intention when they first entered into it, and their view was merely to give an ejection from thence to persons who had basely injured them. It was a law among the Grecians for those who were masters of any district, whether great or small, to be also proprietors of its temples, which are to be honoured by them with the usual forms, and with what additional ones they may be able to appoint. Even the Bœotians, as well as many other people, who at this moment were possessed of lands from which they had ejected the old proprietors, made a seizure first of those tem-

ples which had belonged to others, and continued in the free possession of them. For their own parts, could they conquer more of their territory, they should manfully retain it; and as to the spot they now occupied, their position there was voluntary, and as it was their own they would not quit it. It was necessity alone made them use the water, which ought not to be ascribed to any insolent or profane motive, but to the preceding invasions their enemies had made, self-preservation against which laid them under a present necessity of acting as they did. It might with reason be hoped, that every proceeding to which war and violence indispensably obliged, would obtain forgiveness from the god: for the altars are a refuge to involuntary offences, and transgression is imputed only to those who are bad without compulsion, and not to such as urgent necessities may render daring. The guilt of impiety belonged more notoriously to such as insisted on the barter of temples for the bodies of the dead, than to those who are content to lose their just demands rather than submit to so base an exchange." They farther enjoined him in their name to declare, that "they would not evacuate Bœotia, since the ground which they occupied in it belonged to no Bœotians, but was now their own property, acquired by dint of arms. All they required was a truce for fetching off their dead, according to the solemn institutions of their common country."

The Bœotians replied thus: "If they are now in Bœotia, let them quit the ground which belongs to us, and carry off what they demand. But, if they are upon ground of their own, they themselves know best what they have to do." They judged, indeed, that Oropia, on which it happened that the bodies of the dead were lying, as the battle had been fought upon the lines of partition, belonged to the Athenian jurisdiction, and yet that it was impossible for them to be carried off by force; and truce farther they would grant none, where the point related to Athenian ground; that it was, therefore, the most proper reply, "they should quit their territory, and so obtain their demands." The herald of the Athenians having heard this, departed without effect.

Immediately after, the Bœotians, having sent for darters and slingers from the Melian bay, and being re-enforced by two thousand heavy-armed Corinthians, and the Peloponnesian garrison which had evacuated Nisæa, and a party of Megare

ans, all which had joined them since the battle, marched against Delium, and assaulted the fortification. They tried many methods, and took it at last by the help of a machine of a very peculiar structure. Having split asunder a large sail-yard, they hollowed it throughout, and fixed it together again in a very exact manner, so as to resemble a pipe. At its extremity they fastened a caldron by help of chains, into which a snout of iron was bent downwards from the yard. The inside, farther, of this wooden machine was lined almost throughout with iron. They brought it from a distance to the fortification on carriages, and applied it where the work consisted chiefly of vines and timber. And when near enough, they put a large bellows to that extremity of the yard which was next themselves, and began to blow. But the blast, issuing along the bore into the caldron, which was filled with glowing coals, and sulphur, and pitch, kindled up a prodigious flame. This set fire to the work, and burnt with so much fury, that not a soul durst any longer stay upon it, but to a man they abandoned it and fled away again: and in this manner was the fortress carried. Of the garrison, some were put to the sword, but two hundred were made prisoners. The bulk of the remainder, throwing themselves on board their vessels, escaped in safety to Athens.

It was the seventeenth day after the battle that Delium was taken. And not long after, a herald despatched by the Athenians came again, but quite ignorant of this event, to sue for the dead, which were now delivered by the Bœotians, who no longer laid any stress upon their former reply.

In the battle, there perished of the Bœotians very little under five hundred; of the Athenians, few less than a thousand, and Hippocrates the general; but of light-armed and baggage-men a considerable number indeed.*

* The Athenians received in truth a terrible blow on this occasion. The Bœotians, a people heavy and stupid to a proverb, continued ever after the terror of the Athenians, the politest and most enlightened people upon earth. Nay, that gross and stupid people had this day wellnigh completed the destruction of all that was pre-eminently wise and good at this time upon earth; and done an irreparable mischief to sound reason and good sense for ever after. When the two troops of horse, after fetching a compass round the hill, had completed the rout of the Athenians, who were now flying away with the utmost speed, the divine Socrates was left almost alone, facing the en-

Somewhat later in time than this battle, Demosthenes, who, on his appearance before Siphæ, had been disappointed in his hope of having it betrayed to him, having the land-force still on board his fleet, consisting of four hundred heavy-armed Acarnanians, and Agræans, and Athenians, made a descent on Sicyonia; but before all his vessels could land their men, the Sicyonians had marched down to make head against them. They defeated those that were landed, and chased them again on board. Some they killed, and some they took alive; and after erecting their trophy, they delivered up the dead by truce.

During the former transactions at Delium, Sitalces also, King of the Odrysians, was killed in an expedition he had formed against the Triballians, who encountered and vanquished him. And Seuthes, the son of Sparodocus, his nephew by the brother, succeeded him in the kingdom of the Odrysians and the rest of Thrace over which he had reigned.

The same winter Brasidas, in conjunction with the allies of Thrace, marched against Amphipolis, an Athenian colony upon the river Strymon.

The spot of ground on which this city now stands, Aristagoras, the Milesian, formerly, when he fled from King Darius, had endeavoured to plant, but was beaten off by the Edonians. Two-and-thirty years after the Athenians made the same attempt, having sent thither a colony consisting of ten thousand of their own people, and such others as voluntarily came in, all of whom were destroyed by the Thracians at Drabeacus; but after an interval of twenty-nine years, the Athenians came hither again with a fresh colony led by Ag-

emy, and fighting and retreating like a lion overpowered. Alcibiades, who served in the cavalry, was making off on horseback; but, seeing Socrates in such imminent danger, he rode up to him, covered his retreat, and brought him off safe. He thus repaid him the great obligation he had formerly received from him at Potidæa. Strabo relates further (Geog. i. 9), that Xenophon also the same day owed his life to Socrates. Having fallen from his horse, and being trampled among the crowd, Socrates took him upon his shoulders, and carried him to a place of safety. Upon the whole, brutal strength and mere bodily merit were never so near getting a total conquest over all the light and understanding which human nature has to boast of, that did not come directly down from heaven.

non, the son of Nicias, who, having driven away the Edonians, built this city upon the spot of ground which had formerly been called the Nine Roads. They rushed to the seizure from Eion, a maritime emporium situated at the river's mouth, and belonging to them. Eion is distant twenty stadia* from the spot where the city now stands, and which by Agnon was named Amphipolis, because it is almost surrounded by the Strymon, which floweth along it on both sides. Running therefore a wall from the river to the river, he planted his colony on a spot conspicuous both to the land and to the sea.

Against this place Brasidas, decamping from Arne of Chalcidica, advanced with his army. 'About sunset he arrived at Aulon and Bromiscus, where the lake Bolbe issues into the sea. From hence, after taking the evening repast, he continued his march by night. It was winter, and a snow was falling. This favoured and encouraged his enterprise, as he intended to surprise the people of Amphipolis, except such as were privy to his design. For there resided in the place a body of Argyllians, who are an Andrian colony, and others who acted in combination with him, some of them at the instigation of Perdiccas, and others at that of the Chalcidians: but in a more particular manner the Argyllians, who had a place of residence very near it, who farther had ever been suspected by the Athenians, and were really intent on the ruin of the place when now a fair opportunity was within their reach, and Brasidas at hand, who long before had been tampering with these inhabitants of foreign mixture, in order to have the city betrayed to him. The Argyllians at this juncture received him into their own city, and, revolting from the Athenians, led his army forward that very night to the bridge over the Strymon. The city is seated at some distance from this pass; and it was not then defended by a fort as it is now, but was only the station of a small party of guards. Brasidas therefore easily forced the guard, being favoured in some degree by treachery, not a little also by the season and his own unexpected approach. He then passed the bridge, and was immediately master of all the effects of those Amphipolitans who reside in all the tract without the walls. This passage was so sudden, that those within the city had no ne-

* About two English miles.

tice of it; and as to those without, many of them being seized, and others flying for preservation within the wall, the Amphipolitans were thrown into vast confusion, increased by their mutual suspicions of one another. And it is said, that if Brasidas, instead of permitting his troops to disperse for plunder, had advanced directly against the city, it must unavoidably have fallen into his hands. But he, on the contrary, having ordered them to halt, employed himself in the ravage of what lay without; and, finding nothing effectuated in his favour by accomplices within, he for the present desisted. But those his accomplices were overpowered in number by the opposite party, who prevented their opening the gates immediately to Brasidas; and, acting in concert with Eucles their commandant, who resided there by the orders of the Athenians to guard the place, they despatched a messenger to the other commander in Thrace, Thucydides, the son of Olorus, who compiled this history, and was then in Thasus (Thasus is an island, a colony of the Parians, and distant about half a day's sail from Amphipolis), pressing him to come instantly to their relief.

Thucydides no sooner received this notice, than with the utmost expedition he put to sea, with seven ships that happened to be at hand. He designed nothing so much as to prevent, if possible, the loss of Amphipolis; or, if that was impracticable, to throw himself into Eion, and secure it in time.

Brasidas, in the meanwhile, fearing at the approach of this succour from Thasus, informed besides that Thucydides drew an ample revenue from the working of his gold-mines in this quarter of Thrace, and was on this account of great credit among the principal persons of this part of the continent, tried all possible expedients to get possession of the city before his arrival, lest his appearance among them might animate the Amphipolitans with the hope of succour by sea and from Thrace, which the credit of Thucydides might easily obtain for their effectual preservation, and in pursuance of this they might refuse to capitulate. He sent them therefore very moderate terms, ordering his herald to proclaim that "the Amphipolitans and Athenians within the city should, if they desired it, be continued in the free possession of their property, and of all their rights and liberties whatever: but those who refused to stay should have the space of five days allowed them to quit the town and remove their effects."

This proposal was no sooner heard, than the inclinations of the many took a new turn. The Athenian interest had but a few supporters in the city : the bulk of the inhabitants were a mixture of foreign nations. There were also within many persons, relations of those who had been made prisoners without. And thus, in their present consternation, the proposal was generally received as mild and gentle. The Athenians, for their part, who thought themselves more exposed to danger than the rest, and had besides no hope of speedy relief, were delighted with the offer of quitting the place. So also were all the rest, that they were not to lose their rights and liberties as citizens, and should thus escape the danger they had dreaded, even beyond their hopes. Upon this, the agents of Brasidas expatiated only on the mildness and generosity of the terms he had offered, because now they perceived that the multitude had altered their sentiments, and would no longer hearken to the Athenian commandant. In short, an accommodation was perfected, and they opened the gates to Brasidas, upon the conditions he had proposed by his herald. And in this manner did the inhabitants deliver up Amphipolis.

But in the evening of the same day, Thucydides and the squadron came over to Eion. Brasidas was already in possession of Amphipolis, and designed that very night to seize Eion also. And unless this squadron had come in thus critically to its defence, at break of day it had been lost.

Thucydides instantly took care to put Eion in a posture of defence, in case Brasidas should attack it ; and to provide farther for its future security, when he had opened a refuge there for such as were willing to remove thither from Amphipolis according to the articles of the late surrender. •

But Brasidas on a sudden fell down the river with a large number of boats towards Eion, designing, if possible, to seize the point of land that juts out from the walls, which would have given him the command of the river's mouth. He endeavoured at the same time also to assault it by land, but was repulsed in both attempts. And now he effectually employed his care in resettling and securing Amphipolis.

Myrcinus also, a city of Edonia, revolted to him upon the death of Pittacus, King of the Edonians, who was killed by the sons of Goaxis and his own wife Braures. Gapselus soon af-

ter did the same, and Oesyme: they are colonies of the Thracians. These events were owing to the practices of Perdiccas, who came thither in person immediately after the surrender of Amphipolis.

The loss of that city cast the Athenians into great consternation, and with reason, because it was a place of great importance to them, since from thence they had materials for building ships, and a pecuniary revenue; and farther, because, after a safe conduct through Thessaly, the route was now open to the Lacedæmonians as far as the Strymon, to annoy their dependants. Yet, had they not possessed themselves of the bridge, the large lake formed above the river, and the check given by the triremes stationed at Eion, would have hindered the Lacedæmonians from penetrating further. But all obstacles appeared to the Athenians now quite easy to be surmounted; and their apprehensions that their dependants would revolt alarmed them much. For Brasidas in the rest of his conduct gave constant proofs of an excellent temper; and the declaration was ever in his mouth, that "he had been sent thither to restore the liberty of Greece." Accordingly, the cities which were subject to the Athenians had no sooner heard of the surrender of Amphipolis, together with the brave exploits and the mild engaging deportment of Brasidas, than they conceived the most ardent inclination to shake off the yoke. They secretly despatched their agents to him, earnestly desiring a visit from him, with respective assurances from each that they would be the first to revolt. They judged there was no longer room to apprehend any bad consequences from such a step; falsely estimating the Athenian power to be much less considerable than it afterward appeared. But this their judgment was founded more upon uncertain presumption than deliberate prudence. It is the turn of mankind, when their passions are warm, to give themselves up to blind and sanguine hope, and to throw aside with despotic scorn whatever seemeth to be counter to their wishes. It was but lately that the Athenians had been vanquished by the Boeotians: and Brasidas had been making such recitals as might persuade, though in fact they were collusive, that at Nisæa with his single force he offered battle to the Athenians and they declined it. This made them confident, and they became perfectly convinced that there was no longer a strength sufficient to chastise them. But what had the great-

est influence on their thoughts, and disposed them entirely to run all hazards, was the immediate pleasure they promised themselves in a change, and that now they were going for the first time to experience the sweets of Lacedæmonian friendship.

These inclinations were perceived by the Athenians, who sent garrisons into each of these cities in order to curb them, with as much expedition as the shortness of the time and the wintry season would permit.

Brasidas also had sent to Lacedæmon, soliciting a speedy re-enforcement, and was busy himself in providing materials to build triremes in the Strymon. But the Lacedæmonians neglected to supply him, partly through the envy which the leading men of Sparta had conceived against him, and partly because their attention was principally confined to the recovery of their people made prisoners in Sphacteria, and to bring the war to a conclusion.

The same winter the Megareans, having recovered their long walls, which were in the possession of the Athenians, levelled them with the ground.

Brasidas, thus master of Amphipolis, gathered together the allies, and led them into the district called Acte. It is the tract which stretches out into the sea from the canal which was dug by Xerxes, and Athos, the highest mountain in Acte, is its utmost verge upon the Ægean Sea. The cities in it are, Sane, a colony of Andrians, seated close to the canal, and on that part which faces the sea towards Eubœa; Thyssus farther, and Cleone, and Acrothous, and Olophyxus, and Dium, which are promiscuously inhabited by various sets of barbarians, who speak both languages. There is also a small number of Chalcidians among them, but the bulk are Pelasgians (the issue of those Tyrrhones who formerly inhabited Lemnos and Athens), and Bysaltians, and Crestonians, and Edonians; they reside in small fortresses. Most of them went over to Brasidas; but Sane and Dium stood out. He therefore made his army halt on their lands, and laid them waste. Yet as this had no effect, he marched from thence to Torone of Chalcidica, then possessed by the Athenians. He hastened thither at the invitation of a small party, who were ready to betray the city to him. Being arrived while yet it was dark, he sat down about break of day with his army near the temple of Dioscuri, which lies not at most above three stadia

from the city.* The bulk of the Toroneans and the Athenian garrison were ignorant of his approach : but the accomplices, who knew he would be punctual, sent some of their body unperceived to observe his approach. When these were thus certainly assured he was at hand, they conducted back with them to their friends seven men armed only with daggers. Twenty had at first been selected for this service, but only seven of them now had the courage to proceed : Lysistratus the Olynthian was the person who commanded. They got in by the wall towards the sea without causing an alarm, and ascending from thence, slaughtered the guard in the citadel, which is seated upon the most eminent spot, the whole city being built on the declivity of a hill, and burst open the postern towards Canastræum. Brasidas, having since advanced a little with the rest of his force, halted again. But he ordered a hundred targetiers to go before, that, when the gates should be opened, and the signal given which was before agreed on, they might break in first. These, after an interval of time, wondered at the delay, and by gradually advancing were got close to the city. Such of the Toroneans within as acted in concert with those who had entered, when once the postern was burst, and the gates leading to the forum were thrown open after bursting the bar, in the first place conducting some of them about, led them in at the postern, that they might strike a sudden panic on the ignorant inhabitants when attacked in rear, in flank, and on all sides. This done, they lifted up the appointed signal of fire, and gave instant admittance to the rest of the targetiers through the gates which led to the forum.

Brasidas, when once he saw the signal, roused up his army and led them running towards the place, shouting all at once aloud, and thus striking the greatest consternation into the inhabitants. Some immediately rushed in at the gates ; others mounted over the square wooden machines, which as the wall had lately fallen down and was now rebuilding, lay close to it for the raising of stones. Brasidas, with the bulk of his force, betook himself immediately to the upper parts of the city ; intending to seize the eminence, and possess himself effectually of the place. The rest dispersed themselves equally through every quarter.

* Above a quarter of a mile.

Amid this surprisal, the majority of the Toroneans, quite ignorant of the plot, were in vast confusion; but the agents in it and all their party quickly ranged with the assailants. The Athenians (for of them there were about fifty heavy-armed asleep in the forum), when they found what was done, some few excepted who were slain instantly upon the spot, fled away for preservation; and some by land, others in the guard-ships stationed there, got safe into Lecythus, a fort of their own. They kept this in their own hands, as it was the extremity of the city towards the sea, stretched along on a narrow isthmus. Hither also those of the Toroneans who persevered in their fidelity fled to them for refuge.

It being now broad day, and the city firmly secured, Brasidas caused proclamation to be made to those Toroneans who had fled for refuge to the Athenians, that "such as were willing might return to their old habitations, and should enjoy their rights without any molestation." But to the Athenians a herald was sent expressly, commanding them "to evacuate Lecythus, which rightly belonged to the Chalcideans, and a truce should be granted them to remove themselves and their baggage." An evacuation they absolutely refused, but requested one day's truce to fetch off their dead: he solemnly accorded two. During this space he was very busy in strengthening the houses adjacent to Lecythus, and the Athenians did the same within.

He also convened the Toroneans to a general assembly, and harangued them very nearly in the same manner as he had done at Acanthus, "that it was unjust to look upon those who had been his coadjutors in the surprisal of the city as men worse than their neighbours, or as traitors; they had no enslaving views, nor were biased to such conduct by pecuniary persuasions; the welfare and liberty of the city had been their only object. Neither should they who had no share in the event be more abridged than those who had. He was not come thither to destroy the city, or so much as one private inhabitant of it. For this very reason he had caused the proclamation to be made to those who had sheltered themselves among the Athenians, because such an attachment had not in the least impaired them in his esteem, since it was entirely owing to their ignorance that they had thus undervalued the Lacedæmonians, whose actions, as they were always more just, would for the future entitle them

much more to their benevolence ; their terror hitherto had been merely the result of inexperience." He then exhorted them in general " to take care for the future to be steady and firm allies, since, should they henceforth offend, they would be made answerable for the guilt. They were not chargeable for the past, as they had rather been sufferers themselves from superior force ; the preceding opposition, therefore, deserved forgiveness."

Having spoken thus, and revived their spirits, when the truce was expired he made assaults upon Lecythus. The Athenians defended themselves from a paltry rampart and the battlements of the houses. One whole day they effectually repulsed them : but on the following, when a machine was to be planted against them by the enemy, from whence they intended to throw fire upon their wooden fences, and the army was now approaching to the spot which seemed convenient for lodging their machine, and whence it might be played off with effect, they raised for prevention a wooden turret, the base of which was an edifice that lay ready at hand, and carried up many buckets and tubs of water, and heavy stones ; and upon it also many defendants were mounted. But the edifice, too heavily laden, on a sudden was crushed by the weight. The crash with which it fell was great : and those of the Athenians who stood near and saw it were rather concerned than terrified. But those at a distance, and especially such as were most remote, imagining the place was already taken in that quarter, fled again to the sea and to their vessels.

When Brasidas perceived they were quitting the battlements, and had himself beheld the accident, he led his army to the assault, and immediately carried the fortress. Such as were found within it were instantly destroyed : and the Athenians, in boats and ships, after having thus abandoned it to the enemy, crossed over to the Pallene.

But Brasidas (for in Lecythus there is a temple of Minerva ; and before he proceeded to the assault he had publicly proclaimed, that a reward of thirty minæ* of silver should be given the man who first mounted the rampart), concluding now that it was taken less by human than some other means, reposed the thirty minæ in the temple, as an offering to the

* 96*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

goddess : and, having demolished Lecythus and cleared all away, he consecrated the whole spot as sacred to her. During the remainder of the winter he provided for the security of the places already in his possession, and was planning future conquests. And with the end of this winter the eighth year of the war expired.

YEAR IX.*

Very early in the spring of the ensuing summer, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians made a truce to continue for a year. The motives on the Athenian side were these : that " Brasidas might no longer seduce any of their towns to revolt, before they were enabled by this interval of leisure to act against him ; and besides, that, if they reaped any advantage from this truce, they might proceed to a farther accommodation." On the Lacedæmonian side it was imagined that " the Athenians were under such terrors as in fact they were ; and, after a remission of calamities and misfortunes, would more eagerly come into some expedients for a future reconciliation ; of course, would deliver up to them their citizens, and come into a truce for a larger term." The recovery of these Spartans was a point on which they laid a greater stress than ever, even during the career of success which attended Brasidas. They foresaw, that in case he extended his conquests, and even brought them to a balance with their foes, of those they must for ever be deprived, and the conflict then proceeding upon equal advantages, the dangers also would be equal, and the victory still in suspense.

Upon these motives, both parties and their allies agreed to a truce of the following tenour :—

" As to the temple and oracle of the Pythian Apollo, it seemeth good unto us that access be granted to all who desire it, without fraud and without fear, according to the laws of our country. The same is approved of by the Lacedæmonians and their allies now present ; and they promise to send heralds on purpose, and to spare no pains to procure the consent of the Bœotians and Phocians.

" As to the treasure belonging to the god, care shall be taken by us to find out those who have presumed to embezzle it ; and this fairly and honestly, according to the laws of our

* Before Christ 433.

country, both by you and by us, and by all others who are willing; all proceeding respectively according to the laws of their several constitutions.

"It hath farther seemed good to the Lacedæmonians and their other allies, if the Athenians agree to the truce, that both parties shall keep within their own bounds, and hold what we are at present respectively possessed of; that is to say, the former to keep in Coryphasium,* within the mountains of Bouphras and Tomeus; the latter in Cythera; without enlarging the communication for the procuring of alliance, neither on our side against you, nor on your side against us. That those in Nisæa and Minoa pass not beyond the road that leads from the gates of Megara, adjacent to the temple of Nisus, towards the temple of Neptune, and from the temple of Neptune carrieth directly to the bridge laid across to Minoa. That neither the Megareans nor their allies pass beyond the same road, nor into the island which the Athenians have taken; both keeping within their bounds, and upon no occasion whatever to have any intercourse with one another; the Megareans still to retain what they possess in Trœzene, and whatever they hold by compact with the Athenians; to have, farther, the free use of the sea upon their own coasts, and those of their allies.

"That the Lacedæmonians and allies shall not navigate the sea in a long ship,† but in any other vessel rowed with oars, and of no larger burden than five hundred talents.‡

"That by virtue of this truce, safe conduct be granted, both of passage and repassage, either by land or sea, either to Peloponnesus or to Athens, to all heralds and ambassadors, and their whole retinue, how numerous soever, commissioned to negotiate the determination of the war, or to get controverted points adjudged.

"That so long as this truce be in force no deserters be entertained, neither by you nor by us, whether they be freemen or slaves.

"You shall do justice in our causes, and we shall do the same for you, according to the laws of our respective constitutions, to the end that all controversies may be judicially settled without a war.

* In which stood the fort of Pylus.

† A ship of war.

‡ Five-and-twenty tons.

"These articles have the approbation of the Lacedæmonians and their allies. But, if any thing more honourable or more just occurs to you, you are to repair to Lacedæmon, and propose it there. For, whatever points you may demonstrate to be just, will in no degree whatever be rejected, neither by the Lacedæmonians nor by their allies: provided the persons charged with these new commissions be sent with full powers to put to them the finishing hand, in the same manner as you require the same conditions from us.

"This truce shall be in force for a year."

Ratified by the people.

The Acamantine tribe presided. Phanippus was the notary public. Niciades was in the chair. Laches pronounced: "Be it for the welfare and prosperity of the Athenians, that a suspension of arms is granted upon the terms offered by the Lacedæmonians and allies."

Agreed in the public assembly of the people,

"That this suspension shall continue for a year.

"That it shall take place this very day, being the fourteenth day of the month Elaphebolion.

"That during this interval ambassadors and heralds shall pass between them, to adjust the terms upon which the war should be definitively concluded.

"That the generals of the state and the presidents in course shall first at Athens convene an assembly of the people, to adjust the terms upon which their embassy should be empowered to put an end to the war. And,

"That the ambassadors, who were now present in the assembly, shall give a solemn ratification that they will punctually abide by this truce for a year."

The Lacedæmonians and their allies agreed to these articles, and pledged their oath for the observation of them to the Athenians and their allies at Lacedæmon, on the twelfth day of the month Gerastius.

The persons who settled the articles and assisted at the sacrifice were,

For the Lacedæmonians—Taurus the son of Echetimidas, Athenæus the son of Periclidas, Philocharidas the son of Eryxidaidas. For the Corinthians—Æneas the son of Ocytus, Euphamidas the son of Aristonymus. For the Sicyonians—Damotimus the son of Naucrates, Onasimus the son of Megacles. For the Megareans—Nicasus the son of Cecalus,

Menecrates the son of Amphidorus. For the Epidaurians—Amphias the son of Eupæidas. For the Athenians—Nicos-tratus the son of Diotrepheas, Nicias the son of Niceratus, Autocles the son of Tolmæus, generals of the state.

In this manner was a suspension of arms concluded, during which they continued without interruption to hold conferences with one another about settling the terms of a firm and lasting peace.

During the interval these matters were thus in agitation, Scione, a city in the Pallene, revolted from the Athenians to Brasidas. The Scioneans indeed in the Pallene give out that they are of Peloponnesus; that their ancestors who settled in these other seats were driven there originally by a storm, which in their return from Troy dispersed the Achæans. When they had notified their revolt to him, Brasidas passed over to Scione by night. A party of his friends sailed before him in a trireme, and he followed at some distance in a fly-boat, to the end that, if he should fall in with any vessel larger than this boat, the trireme might make head against her; but if another trireme of equal strength should come up to them, he judged she would neglect his smaller boat, and would attack the ship, which would give him time to complete his passage in security.

When he was safely landed, and had convened an assembly of the Scioneans, he harangued them as he had done before at Acanthus and Torone. But he added farther, that "they were a people most deserving of applause, since, though the communication with the Pallene, as being an isthmus, was cut off by the Athenians, who were masters of Potidæa, and they were by this means become islanders to all intents and purposes, yet they had, without prior solicitation, advanced boldly towards liberty, nor could bear to lie in cowardly inactivity till necessity forced them to such measures as tended to their manifest welfare. This was ample proof that they were ready to undergo any other the greatest perils, to obtain the wished-for settlement of their state. He therefore regarded them as in truth the most gallant friends of the Lacedæmonians, and would in all respects do proper honour to their worth."

The Scioneans were elevated by these handsome commendations. All of them became full of spirits, not even those excepted to whom the prior steps had been by no means agreeable. They cheerfully determined to sustain all future

war, and in every shape gave Brasidas honourable entertainment. By public vote they placed upon his head a golden crown as the deliverer of Greece, while every single Scionean was busy in adorning him with ribands, and caressing him like a victor in the solemn games. His stay at present was short; he only placed a small party in the town to secure it, and then repassed to Torone. But soon after he transported thither the greater part of his force, designing, with the aid of the Scioneans, to make attempts upon Mende and Potidæa. He concluded, however, that the Athenians would lose no time in throwing in a succour as into an island, and so he endeavoured to be beforehand with them.

He had already formed an intelligence to the prejudice of those cities, to get them betrayed: and he was now intent on executing his schemes against them. But during this pause Aristonymus, despatched by the Athenians, and Athens by the Lacedæmonians, to circulate the news, arrived in a trireme, and notified to him the suspension of arms. His forces were then transported back to Torone.

The persons employed communicated the articles of the truce to Brasidas, and all the Lacedæmonian confederates in Thrace declared their acquiescence in what had been done. Aristonymus was well satisfied in other respects; but finding, by computing the days, that the revolt of the Scioneans was too late in point of time, he protested against their being entitled to the benefit of the truce. Brasidas, on the other hand, urged many arguments to prove it prior in time, and refused to restore that city. When therefore Aristonymus had reported this affair at Athens, the Athenians in an instant were ready to take up arms again for the reduction of Scione. But the Lacedæmonians, by an embassy purposely despatched, remonstrated that "they should regard such a proceeding as a breach of the truce," and asserted "their right to the city, as they reposed entire credit on Brasidas; however, they were ready to refer the dispute to a fair arbitration." The others refused to abide by so hazardous a decision, but would recover it as soon as possible by force of arms. They were irritated at the thought, that persons seated as it were upon an island should presume to revolt from them, and have such confidence in the unprofitable land-power of the Lacedæmonians. There was, farther, more truth in the date of the revolt than at present the Athenians could evince: for, in

fact, the Scioneans revolted two days too late. But at the instigation of Cleon they immediately passed a decree, that "the Scioneans should be reduced by force, and then put to the sword." And their intention was recalled from all other points to expedite the needful preparations for the execution of this.

In the meantime Mende, also a city in the Pallene, and a colony of the Eretrians, revolted from them. Brasidas received them into his protection, thinking himself justified, as they had openly come over to him in the time of truce. Besides, he had himself some reasons to recriminate upon the Athenians, as violaters of the articles. Upon this account the Mendeans were more encouraged to the step, as they saw Brasidas was determined to support them; and were convinced, by the affair of Scione, that he would not abandon them. The design farther had been originally set on foot by the few; who, though they delayed it for a time, were resolved to push it into execution: for they apprehended that a discovery might prove fatal to themselves, and so forced the bulk of the people to act against their inclination. But the Athenians, who had quick intelligence of it, were now exasperated much more than before, and redoubled their preparations against both those places.

Brasidas, who soon expected the arrival of their armament, conveyed away the wives and children of the Scioneans and Mendeans to Olynthus of Chalcidica, and had them escorted thither by five hundred heavy-armed Peloponnesians and three hundred Chalcidic targetiers: the commander of the whole escort was Polydamidas. Those left behind, expecting soon to be visited by the Athenians, united their endeavours to get things in good order for their reception.

In the interval Brasidas and Perdiccas marched together a second time into Lyncus against Arribæus. They commanded their separate bodies; one, the forces of the Macedonians subject to himself, and the heavy-armed Grecians who dwelt among them; the other, the remainder of his own Peloponnesians, re-enforced by Chalcideans and Acanthians, and quotas from other cities such as they were able to furnish. The number of heavy-armed Grecians, computed together, amounted to about three thousand: the cavalry that attended, both of Macedonians and Chalcideans, was upon the whole little less than a thousand, and the remaining crowd of Barbarians was great.

Breaking thus into the territory of Arribæus, and finding the Lyncestians already in the field to oppose them, they also sat down and faced them. The infantry on each side were posted on an eminence, and a plain lay between them. This yielding room for the excursions of the horse, the cavalry of both began a skirmish first. But then Brasidas and Perdicas, so soon as the Lyncestian heavy-armed were moving first from the eminence to the aid of their cavalry, and were ready to engage, marched also down into the plain to oppose them, where they charged and routed the Lyncestians. A large number of the latter were slain, the rest fled for preservation to the eminences, and there stood quiet.

The victors after this, having erected a trophy, continued for two or three days in the same post, waiting for the Illyrians, who were coming up to join Perdicas for a stipulated pay. And then Perdicas intended to advance farther against the villages of Arribæus, and sit no longer inactive. Mende, however, was still uppermost in the care of Brasidas: that place must be lost, should the Athenians arrive before it in the interval: the Illyrians besides were not yet come up. He relished not the project, and was more inclined to go back. This engendered some disputes between them, in the midst of which the news was brought that the Illyrians had deserted Perdicas, and joined themselves with Arribæus. Upon which it was soon resolved between them to retire, as there was reason to dread the accession of men so renowned for military valour. Yet the disagreement between them prevented their fixing on any certain time for filing off. Night came on, in which the Macedonians and the crowd of Barbarians being struck with a sudden panic (as numerous armies are apt to be, without any certain cause), and imagining that much larger numbers were coming against them than in fact was true, and that they were only not near enough to attack them, they instantly took to their heels and hurried homewards. Perdicas for a time knew nothing of the matter, and when informed of it, was compelled by the flying troops to dislodge in their company, without being able to get a sight of Brasidas: for they were encamped at a distance from each other.

At the dawn of day Brasidas perceived that the Macedonians had dislodged, and that the Illyrians and Arribæus were approaching to attack him. He therefore drew his forces to-

gether, forming a square with his heavy-armed, in the centre of which he disposed all the crowd of light-armed; and in this form he intended to retreat. He appointed the youngest men to sally out, in case the enemy anywhere attacked them; and he himself, with a picked body of three hundred, determined to bring up the rear in person, in order to sustain and make good their retreat against the van of the enemy who should press upon their rear. And before the enemy came near, as well as the hurry would admit, he animated his soldiers thus:—

“Did I not suspect, ye men of Peloponnesus, that thus abandoned as you are, and ready to be attacked by Barbarians, and those numerous too, you were in some consternation, I should judge it needless to instruct or to encourage you. But now, against this desertion of our friends, and this multitude of our enemies, I shall endeavour, by a short admonition and exhortation, to raise within you the full grandeur of your souls. Upon you it is incumbent to behave with gallantry in every martial scene, upon the account, not merely of acting in the open field in the presence of so many confederates, but of your own hereditary valour. Your souls ought not to be dismayed at a multitude of foes, since you were not born under governments where the many control the few, but where the few command the many. And the only means by which you acquired this noble privilege, was victorious perseverance in the fields of battle. Yet of these Barbarians, your fears of whom are the result of your ignorance, you ought to be informed, from what you have learned yourselves in former conflicts against them with the Macedonians, as well as from what I conjecture, and what I depend upon from the accounts of others, that in action they will be by no means terrible. For when a hostile force, though in reality weak, carrieth with it the appearance of strength, a true discovery of its state is no sooner obtained, than it redoubleth the courage of their opponents. But men in whom valour is firmly implanted, none can assault with extraordinary spirit but such as know them not. These enemies of yours are dreadful for a while, merely till brought to trial. Their multitude rendereth them terrible to the sight; the loudness of their shouts is insupportable to the ear. Their weapons, brandished about and clashing in the air, have a frightful and menacing look. But their spirit will not answer their show when charging

against such as will sustain their shock. They are not drawn up with skill, nor will they blush when compelled to quit their ground. To fly from or to fly after an enemy is equally a matter of glory to them: by such things is their valour established and rescued from reproach. For a battle where every combatant is his own commander, leaveth a specious and handsome opportunity to each of providing for his safety. They this moment judge it more safe to intimidate us at a distance than to run to the charge: for otherwise, before this, they had attacked us. And you plainly see, that all the terror which now runs before them will vanish at the onset, as terrible only to sight and hearing. When, therefore, they advance to the charge, sustain it and repulse them: and, when opportunity serveth, fall back into your ranks again with regularity and order. You shall thus the sooner secure your retreat, and be convinced for the time to come that such rabbles, to men who can stand the first fury of their onset, have only made, at a distance and by their pausing, a vain and menacing parade of valour; but such as will give ground and fly before them, they pursue with eagerness, and are excellently brave when there is no resistance."

After this exhortation Brasidas caused his army to file leisurely off. The Barbarians perceiving it, pressed forward with great noise and clamour, supposing that he fled, and that they might intercept and cut him off. But when the appointed parties sallied out from all quarters to receive them, and Brasidas himself, with his picked body, sustained their charge, they repulsed them at their first assault, to the great surprise of the enemy. Afterward, receiving every repeated attack, they beat them off continually; and then, during the intervals of pause, retreated in good order; till at length, the bulk of the Barbarians discontinued their efforts in the plain against the Greeks under Brasidas, and leaving only a part of their body to follow and annoy them in their retreat, the rest wheeled speedily off to pursue the flying Macedonians, and such as they overtook they slaughtered. To the narrow pass, farther, between two hills, which was the entrance into the territories of Arribæus, they hurried before in order to secure it, knowing it to be the only route by which Brasidas could retreat. He was now drawing near it, and in the most difficult part of the passage they were spreading themselves circularly to encompass him on all sides. But Brasi-

das, perceiving their design, ordered the three hundred that marched with him to advance full speed up that hill which he thought was most practicable, and possess themselves of it, and this with the utmost expedition, each as he was able, without regarding form, and endeavour to drive the Barbarians thence, who were already posting themselves upon it, before they were joined by larger numbers, and could invest him on all sides. They did so, attacked, and made themselves masters of the hill, which enabled the main body of the Grecians to march up without obstruction. For now the Barbarians were thrown into consternation when their detachment had in this manner been beat off from the eminence. And here they discontinued the pursuit, imagining the enemy had already passed the frontier, and secured their retreat.

Brasidas, when once he was master of the eminences, marched on without molestation; and the very same day reached Arnissa, the first place within the dominions of Perdiccas. His soldiers, indeed, who were exasperated against the Macedonians for having thus precipitately abandoned them, whatever yokes of oxen they met with on their route, or whatever baggage lay dropped upon the ground (as such things it was likely should happen in a retreat by night and confused by fear), the former they unyoked and cut to pieces, and secreted the latter as lawful plunder. Here Perdiccas first began to regard Brasidas as his enemy, and ever after forced himself against his inclinations to hate the Peloponnesians; not indeed in his judgment preferring the Athenians, but, prevailed upon by the exigences of his own affairs, he cast about for the means of being again reconciled to the latter, and disentangling himself from the former.

Brasidas, having retreated through Macedonia to Torone, found the Athenians already in possession of Mende. Judging it impossible now to pass over into the Pallene and drive out the enemy, he chose to remain there and securely to garrison Torone. For, during the time of the expedition into Lynceus, the Athenians had put to sea against Mende and Scione with the armament they had provided, consisting of fifty ships, ten of which were Chian, of a thousand heavy-armed of their own citizens, six hundred archers, a thousand mercenary Thracians, and a body of targetiers furnished by their adjacent dependants: Nicias the son of Niceratus, and Nicostratus the son of Diotrophes, had the command of the

whole. They weighed from Potidæa, and, landing at the temple of Neptune, marched directly for Mende. The Mendeans, with their own force and three hundred Scioneans who were come to their succour, and the Peloponnesian auxiliaries, in all seven hundred heavy-armed, under the command of Polydamidas, were encamped without the city upon a strong eminence. Nicias, taking with him a hundred and twenty light-armed Methoneans, and sixty picked men of the heavy-armed Athenians, and all the archers, attempted to mount by a path that led up the eminence ; but, being galled by the enemy, was not able to force the ascent. Nicostratus, with all the rest of the force, having fetched a compass about, in order to mount in a remote quarter, where the ascent was impracticable, was quite thrown into disorder ; and thus the whole Athenian army narrowly escaped a total defeat. As therefore the Mendeans and allies maintained their post the whole day, the Athenians drew off and encamped ; and, when night came on, the Mendeans withdrew into the city.

The next day the Athenians, sailing round to the Scione side, possessed themselves of the suburbs, and spent the whole day in ravaging the country, as not a soul sallied out to obstruct them ; for some bustles now were on foot in the city inclining to a sedition. The three hundred Scioneans departed also in the succeeding night to their own home : and the day following, Nicias, advancing with a moiety of the force within their frontier, ravaged the district of the Scioneans ; while Nicostratus, with the remainder, sat down before the upper gates of Mende, from whence the road leads to Potidæa. But Polydamidas, as the Mendeans and the auxiliaries had chanced to ground their arms in this quarter within the wall, drew them up in order of battle, and exhorted the Mendeans to sally out. It was replied in a seditious manner by one of the popular faction, that " they would not sally, and would have nothing to do with the war." At such a refusal Polydamidas having laid hands upon the person, a tumult at once ensued, in which the people ran immediately to arms, and, furious with anger, made towards the Peloponnesians, and all those of the opposite faction who sided with them. They fell upon and routed them in an instant, terrified as they were at this sudden assault ; and the gates were thrown open at the same time to the Athenians. They sup-

posed this insurrection had been made against them in consequence of some previous combination ; and as many as escaped out of the scuffle with life, fled away to the citadel, which was before in their possession.

But the Athenians (for Nicias was now returned before the city) bursting into Mende, for it was not opened by composition, with their whole united force, plundered it as though taken by storm ; nay, the generals had some difficulty to restrain their soldiers from putting the inhabitants to the sword. And after this they issued their commands to the Mendeans to continue their government in the usual form, and to proceed judicially against those of their body whom they esteemed the principal authors of the revolt. Those in the citadel they shut up with a wall extending on both sides to the sea, and posted a guard to secure the blockade.

When in this manner they had possessed themselves of Mende, they marched against Scione. The inhabitants, with the Peloponnesian aids, coming out to receive them, posted themselves on a strong eminence before the city ; which, unless the enemy could take it, would infallibly prevent their walling them about. But the Athenians stormed the post, and, after an engagement, forcing them to dislodge, they formed their camp, and having erected a trophy, got every thing in readiness for the circumvallation. And no long time after, while they were busied in this work, the auxiliaries blocked up in the citadel at Mende, having forced the guard posted near the sea, got away by night ; and the major part of them, escaping privily through the Athenian camp before Scione, got safe into that town.

When the circumvallation of Scione was in hand, Perdiccas, having despatched a herald for the purpose to the Athenian generals, strikes up a new treaty with the Athenians. He took this step out of pure enmity to Brasidas, arising from the retreat out of Lynceus ; and had begun from that time to act in their favour : for it happened that at this very juncture of time Ischagoras the Lacedæmonian was bringing up by land a re-enforcement to Brasidas. But Perdiccas, as well to oblige Nicias, who, as he had renewed his alliance, commanded him to give some conspicuous proof of his attachment to the Athenians, as to gratify his own resentment in refusing the Peloponnesians a passage through his dominions, had gained the concurrence of his Thessalian friends ;

since with the chief persons of that country he had ever been closely united by the hospitable ties, and so stopped the reinforcement and their convoy that they durst not attempt to pass through Thessaly. Ischagoras, however, and Aminias, and Aristeus, reach Brasidas in person, being commissioned by the Lacedæmonians to inspect the posture of their affairs, and brought with them some young men of Sparta, though contrary to their laws, who were to take upon them the government of the cities which were no longer to be trusted to their former managers. In effect, Clearidas, the son of Cleonymus, they placed as governor in Amphipolis, and Epitelidas, the son of Hegesander, in Torone.

This same summer the Thebans demolished the walls of the Thespiensians, alleging as the reason that they were practising with the Athenians. This demolition had ever been intended, but its execution was now become more easy, as the flower of their youth had perished in the late battle fought against the Athenians.

This summer also the temple of Juno at Argos was destroyed by fire. Chrysis, the priestess, had placed a burning torch too near the garlands, and unawares fell fast asleep. The flames broke out and were raging all around before they were perceived. Chrysis indeed instantly, for fear of the Argives, flies away by night to Phlius. They, according to the law enacted for that purpose, appointed another priestess in her room, whose name was Phacinis. Eight years of this war were elapsed, and it was the middle of the ninth when Chrysis fled.

The circumvallation of Scione also was completed about the close of this summer; and the Athenians, leaving behind a sufficient body to guard it, drew off the rest of their army.

In the ensuing winter, things were quiet between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, because of the suspension of arms. But the Mantineans, and Tegeatæ, and the confederates on both sides, engaged at Laodicea of Orestis; but the victory was doubtful. Each party routed a wing of their opponents, and both sides erected trophies, and sent the spoils to Delphi. Many, however, were slain on both sides, and the battle was drawn, the night putting an end to the contest. The Tegeatæ indeed passed the night upon the field, and immediately erected a trophy. But the Mantineans withdrew to Bucolion, and afterward erected their trophy in opposition.

In the close of this winter, and when the spring was already approaching, Brasidas farther made an attempt upon Potidæa. For, having approached it in the night, and applied his ladders, so far he proceeded without causing an alarm: for the bell being passed by, during that interval, before he that carried it forward could return, the moment was seized for applying them.* However, the alarm was taken before he could possibly scale, upon which he drew off his army without loss of time, not caring to wait for the return of day. And thus ended the winter, and with it the ninth year of this war, of which Thucydides hath compiled the history.

* The officers regularly went their rounds to see that all the sentinels were at their posts. When they approached any of them a little bell was rung, to which the sentinel was to answer, in proof that he was at his post and awake. The interval between the rounds was so considerable, and the vigilance of the sentinel, as the bell was just gone by, might be so relaxed, that Brasidas hoped he might execute his scheme.

BOOK V.

YEAR X. The truce endeth.—Cleon sent commander into Thrace; his proceedings there.—The battle of Amphipolis, in which Brasidas and Cleon are killed.—A general peace, styled the Nician.—An alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.—XI. The peace merely nominal; and Thucydides proceeds in his history of the Peloponnesian war.—The Corinthians practise against the Lacedæmonians.—An Argive league.—No confidence between the principal states.—A train of negotiations.—A separate alliance between the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians, contrary to article.—Panactum demolished.—XII. The demolition of Panactum and the separate alliance highly resented at Athens.—Many are scheming a rupture, but especially Alcibiades.—By his means a negotiation is brought on at Athens, and an alliance formed with the Argives.—The Lacedæmonians forbidden to assist at the Olympic games.—XIII. War between the Argives and Epidaurians.—The Lacedæmonians throw a garrison into Epidaurus; and the Athenians replace the Helots and Messenians in Pylus.—XIV. The Lacedæmonians take the field against the Argives.—Two large armies face one another within sight of Argos, yet part without engaging.—The Lacedæmonians take the field a second time.—The battle of Mantinea.—The Argives enter into league with the Lacedæmonians.—XV. Fresh stirrs at Argos in favour of the Athenians.—XVI. Expedition of the Athenians against the Isle of Melos.—The conference in form, by way of dialogue.—The Athenians become masters of that island.

YEAR X.*

In the following summer, the truce, made for a year, expired, of course, at the time of the Pythian games: and, during this relaxation from war, the Athenians caused the Delians to evacuate the Isle of Delos; imagining that, upon the taint of some crimes long since committed, they were not sufficiently pure to perform due service to the god, and that this yet was wanting to render that work of purgation com-

* Before Christ 422.

plete, in which, as I have already related, they thought themselves justified in demolishing the sepulchres of the dead. The Delians settled again, so fast as they could remove themselves thither, at Atramyttium, bestowed upon them for this purpose by Pharnaces.

Cleon,* having obtained the commission from the Athe-

* Cleon is now grown perfectly convinced that he is a very hero, and hath prevailed upon a majority of the people of Athens to be of the same mind, since, seriously and deliberately, they intrust him with a most important and delicate commission. He now imagines he can carry all before him, and pluck all the laurels of Brasidas from the head of that accomplished Spartan, even without having Demosthenes for his second. We may guess to what a height of insolence he was now grown, from the Knights of Aristophanes. And, to set it in the most ludicrous view, the poet opens his play with Nicias and Demosthenes, whom he paints in a very injurious manner; and, no doubt, it must have been very grating to them, to see themselves represented in so low buffoonery upon the stage of Athens. "Demosthenes begins with a shower of curses on that execrable Paphlagonian, Cleon; Nicias seconds him; then both of them howl together in a most lamentable duetto. They next lay their heads together about some means of redress. Demosthenes proposeth getting out of their master Cleon's reach. 'Let us go, then,' says Nicias. 'Ay; let us go,' cries Demosthenes. 'Say more,' says Nicias, 'let us go over to the enemy.'—'Ay; over to the enemy,' adds the other. 'But first,' says Nicias, 'let us go and prostrate ourselves before the images of the gods.'—'What images?' says Demosthenes; 'dost thou think then there are any gods?'—'I do.'—'Upon what grounds?'—'Because I am undeservedly the object of their hatred.' " Such are the daring misrepresentations Aristophanes makes of characters that by no means deserve it! Demosthenes afterward describes the arrogance of Cleon thus: "He hath one foot fixed in Pylus, and the other in the assembly of the people. When he moves he struts and stretches at such a rate, that his bum is in Thrace, his hands in Ætolia, and his attention among the tribes at home."—Nicias then proposeth poisoning themselves by drinking bull's blood, like Themistocles;—"Or rather," says Demosthenes, "a dose of good wine." This is agreed upon, in order to cheer up their spirits, and enable them to confront Cleon, and play off against him the seller of black-puddings. Nicias accordingly goes and steals the wine. Yet, in spite of the most outrageous ridicule, and the opposition of all wise and honest men at Athens we see Cleon now at the head of an army, to stop the rapid conquests of Brasidas.

nians, went by sea into the Thracian dominions, so soon as the suspension of arms expired, having under his command twelve hundred heavy-armed Athenians, three hundred horsemen, and larger numbers of their allied forces. His whole armament consisted of thirty sail. Touching first at Scione, yet blocked up, he drew from thence the heavy-armed, stationed there as guards; and, standing away, entered the haven of the Colophonians, lying at no great distance from Torone. Being here informed by the deserters that Brasidas was not in Torone, nor the inhabitants able to make head against him, he marched his forces by land towards that city, and sent ten of his ships about, to stand into the harbour. His first approach was to the new rampart, which Brasidas had thrown up quite round the city, in order to enclose the suburbs within its cincture; and thus, by the demolition of the old wall, had rendered it one entire city. When the Athenians came to the assault, Pasitelidas, the Lacedæmonian, who was commandant, and the garrison under his command, exerted themselves in its defence. But when they could no longer maintain it, and at the same time the ships, sent round on purpose, had entered the harbour, Pasitelidas, fearing lest the ships might take the town, now left defenceless, and, when the rampart was carried by the enemy, he himself might be intercepted, abandoned it immediately, and retired with all speed into the town: but the Athenians were already disembarked and masters of the place. The land-force also broke in instantly at his heels, by rushing along through the aperture in the old wall; and some, as well Peloponnesians as Toronians, they slew in the moment of irruption. Some also they took alive, among whom was Pasitelidas the commandant. Brasidas was indeed coming up to its relief, but, receiving intelligence on his march that it was taken, he retired; since he was forty stadia* off, too great a distance to prevent the enemy.

But Cleon and the Athenians now erected two trophies; one upon the harbour, the other at the rampart. They farther doomed to slavery the wives and children of the Toronians. The male inhabitants, together with the Peloponnesians and every Chalcidean that was found among them, amounting in all to seven hundred, they sent away captives to

* About four miles.

Athens. The Peloponnesians indeed were afterward released, by virtue of the subsequent treaty; the rest were fetched away by the Olynthians, who made exchanges for them, body for body.

About the same time the Bœotians, by treachery, got possession of Panactum, a fort upon the frontier, belonging to the Athenians.

As for Cleon, having established a garrison at Torone, he departed thence, and sailed round Athos, as bound for Amphipolis.

But two vessels about this time, bound for Italy and Sicily, sailed out of the harbour of Athens, having on board Phæax, the son of Erasistratus, with whom two other persons were joined in commission, to execute an embassy there. For the Leontines, after the departure of the Athenians from Sicily, in consequence of the joint accommodation, had enrolled many strangers as denizens of their city, and the populace had a plan in agitation for a distribution of the lands. The nobles, alarmed at this, gain the concurrence of the Syracusans, and eject the commons. They were dispersed, and wandered up and down as so many vagabonds; while the nobles, striking up an agreement with the Syracusans, abandoned and left in desolation their own city, settling at Syracuse as free citizens of that place. And yet, soon after, some of this number, dissatisfied even here, forsook Syracuse again, and seized upon Phocæa, a quarter of the old city of the Leontines, and upon Bricinnæ, which is a fortress in the Leontine. Hither the greater part of the ejected commons resorted to them; and adhering firmly together, from these strongholds they annoyed the country by their hostilities. When the Athenians had intelligence of this, they sent out Phæax, to persuade, by all proper methods, their old allies in that country, and to gain, if possible, the concurrence of the other Sicilians, to take up arms for the preservation of the people of Leontium, against the encroaching power of the Syracusans. Phæax, upon his arrival, recommended the scheme successfully to the Camarineans and Agrigentines. But his negotiations meeting with some obstacles at Gela, he desisted from addressing himself to the rest, since he was assured he could not possibly succeed. Retiring therefore through the district of the Siculi to Catane, and calling on his road at Bricinnæ, and having encouraged the malecontents there to persevere, he

departed. Not but that, in this Sicilian voyage, both passing and repassing, and also upon the coast of Italy, he had urged to several cities "how expedient for them was the Athenian friendship."

He met also in his course with those Locrians who were going to another settlement, after expulsion from Messene. They had been driven to this necessity by seditious factions at Messene, one of which had invited them thither since the joint accommodation among the Sicilians; and now they were forced to shift again, though Messene had for a time been entirely in their power. Phæax therefore, meeting with these in their removal, gave them no annoyance; for the Locrians had been at a conference with him, to concert the measures of an agreement with the Athenians. These, however, were the only party of all the confederates who, when the Sicilians had amicably ended their disputes, refused to treat with the Athenians, and were brought to such submission since merely by a war, in which they were embroiled against the Itonians and Meleans, who bordered upon them, and were colonies of their own. And, some time after this, Phæax truly returned to Athens.

But Cleon, who from Torone was gone about by sea against Amphipolis, marching away from Eion, made an assault upon Stagirus, a colony of Andrians, but without success; yet Galepsus, a colony of the Thasians, he took by storm. He sent farther ambassadors to Perdiceas, to summon his attendance in the expedition, according to the tenour of the new alliance. He sent others into Thrace to Polles, King of the Odomantians, that he would hire as large a body of Thracians as could be got, and bring them up under his own orders. And, during this interval, he himself lay quiet at Eion.

But Brasidas, informed of these proceedings, placed himself in an opposite post at Cerdylum. This place belonged to the Argilians, and is seated on an eminence on the other side of the river, and at no great distance from Amphipolis. From hence he had a perfect view of all Cleon's motions; so that now it was impossible for the latter to make any approach with his army, from thence to Amphipolis, without being discovered. Brasidas, however, suspected that Cleon would approach, and, from a contempt of his opponents, would certainly advance thither, without waiting for re-enforcements.

He had, at the same time, provided himself with fifteen

hundred mercenary Thracians, and had assembled all the Edonian targetiers and horsemen. Of the Myrcinians and Chalcideans he had a thousand targetiers, besides those in Amphipolis. But his whole force of heavy-armed of all sorts amounted to about two thousand ; and he had three hundred Grecian horsemen. With a detachment, consisting of fifteen hundred of these, Brasidas had posted himself at Cerdylum ; the rest were left in Amphipolis, under the orders of Cleardas.

Cleon remained without stirring for the present, but was soon forced to such a step as Brasidas expected. The soldiers were chagrined at their inactivity, and were disparaging his conduct by invidious parallels, "against how much skill and courage, with how much unskilfulness and cowardice, he was matched ;" and that, "with the highest regret they had attended him from Athens on this expedition." Sensible of their discontent, and unwilling to disgust them more by too long a continuance in the same post, he drew them up and led them on. He acted now upon the vain conceit with which his success at Pylus had puffed him up, as a man of great importance. It could not enter his heart that the enemy would presume to march out against and offer him battle. He gave out that "he was only advancing in order to view the place : he waited indeed the arrival of additional forces, not as if they were needful to his security, should the enemy attack him, but to enable him completely to invest the city, and to take it by storm." Being advanced, he posted his troops upon a strong eminence before Amphipolis, and went in person to view the marshes of the Strymon, and the situation of the city on the side of Thrace, how it really was. He judged he could retreat at pleasure without a battle. Not so much as one person appeared upon the works, or issued out at the gates ; for they were all shut fast. He now concluded himself guilty of a mistake in coming so near the place without the machines, "as the town must infallibly have been taken, because abandoned."

Brasidas, however, had no sooner perceived that the Athenians were in motion, than, descending from Cerdylum, he marched into Amphipolis. He there waived all manner of sally and all show of opposition against the Athenians. He was afraid of trusting too much to his own forces, as he judged them inferior to the enemy, not truly in numbers, for so

far they were nearly balanced, but in real worth; for the Athenian force appointed for this service was composed of the very flower of Athens, and the choicest troops of the Lemnians and Imbrians: for this reason he prepared to assail them with art; because in case he gave the enemy a view of his numbers, and of the sorry manner in which they were armed, he judged he should be less likely to gain a victory than by concealing them till the moment of action, and avoiding that contempt which their real state would have inspired. Picking out, therefore, a party of one hundred and fifty heavy-armed for himself, and appointing Clearchus to command the rest, he designed to fall suddenly upon the Athenians in their retreat; concluding he should never again find them in this forlorn manner, when the re-enforcements they expected were come up. Calling, therefore, all his soldiers around him, as he was desirous of animating them and letting them into his scheme, he harangued them thus:—

“Ye men of Peloponnesus, let it suffice that I briefly put you in mind that we are natives of that country which hath ever by valour preserved itself free, and that you of the Doric are now going to attack your opponents of the Ionic descent, whom you are inured to defeat. My words are chiefly designed to inform you in what manner I have planned the method of attack, lest, hazarding the event with so small a party, and not with our entire force, may seem unequal to the work, and may too much dispirit you. The enemy, I conjecture, from an utter contempt of us, and a strong presumption that we durst not come out into the field against them, have shown themselves before this city; and this very moment, disorderly, scattered as they are to view the situation, they heartily despise us. The leader, therefore, who has the most acuteness in detecting such blunders in a foe, and then seizes the proper moment to fall upon them, as best enabled by his own strength; not so much in the open and regular manner of a methodical fight, as with a surprise, most advantageous in the present juncture;—such a leader may, for the most part, be assured of success. Such stealths as these draw after them the highest glory: by these the man who overreaches his enemy the most, performs the most substantial service for his friends. While, therefore, haughtily presuming on their own worth, they remain thus disordered, and, by what appears to me, are bent more on drawing off than re-

maining here; during this their intermission of purpose, and before their resolutions can be regularly adjusted, I myself, at the head of my chosen party, will be among them, if possible, and will rush with vigour into the centre of their army. And then, Clearidas, when once you perceive that I am engaged, and, as in probability it must be, have thrown them into disorder, then, at the head of yours, accompanied by the Amphipolitans and the rest of the confederates, throw open the gates on a sudden for your sally, and advance with your utmost speed to the charge. And thus, it may confidently be hoped, the enemy must be thrown into the utmost consternation; because a second body, thus running to the charge, is more terrible to the foes than the present which is already engaged. And show yourself now, Clearidas, that gallant man, which in honour, as a Spartan, you ought to be.

"You in general, ye confederates, I exhort to follow with manly resolution, and to remember that good soldiers are bound in duty to be full of spirit, to be sensible of shame, and to obey commanders; that this very day, if you behave with valour, you are henceforth free, and will gain the honourable title of Lacedæmonian allies; otherwise, must continue to be the slaves of the Athenians; where the best that can befall you, if neither sold for slaves nor put to death as rebels, will be a heavier yoke of tyranny than you ever yet have felt, while the liberty of the rest of Greece must by you for ever be obstructed. But so dastardly behaviour I conjure you to scorn, as you know for what valuable prizes you are to enter the lists. I myself shall convince you that I am not more ready to put others in mind of their duty, than personally to discharge my own through the whole scene of action."

Brasidas, having ended his harangue, prepared to sally out himself, and placed the main body under the orders of Clearidas, at the gates which are called the Thracian, to be ready to rush out at the appointed time.

To Cleon now, for Brasidas had been plainly seen coming down from Cerdylum; and, as the prospect of the city lay open to those without, had been seen also when sacrificing before the temple of Minerva, and forming the proper dispositions: to Cleon, I say, who was now in a remote quarter to view the posts, advice is brought, that "the whole force of the enemy was visibly drawn up within the city, and that, un-

der the gates, many feet of horses and men might be discerned, as ready for a sally." Upon hearing this he went to the place, and was convinced by his own sight. He determined, however, not to hazard a battle before his succours were arrived ; and though he knew his motions could not be concealed, he went off, and ordered the signal to be given for a retreat ; commanding farther that the left wing should file off first, which, indeed, was the only method of drawing off securely to Eion. But, as they seemed to him to be long about it, he wheeled off himself at the head of the right ; and thus, exposing his men to the missive weapons of the enemy, was drawing off his army.

At this instant Brasidas, perceiving it was time to attack, since the army of the Athenians was already in motion, says to those about him, and to all that were near, "These gentlemen wait not for us, that plainly appeareth by the shaking of their spears and heads ; for those who make such motions are not used to stay for the enemy's approach. But let somebody throw me open the appointed gates, and let us boldly and with all speed sally out against them." In effect, Brasidas, issuing at the gates of the intrenchment, and the first of what was then the long wall, advanced with all speed directly along the road, where now standeth the trophy, to be seen by those who pass along by the strongest part of the town, and, falling upon the Athenians, dismayed not only at their own irregular situation, but also terrified at his bold attack in the very centre of their army, he puts them to the rout. And now Clearidas, sallying out according to order at the Thracian gates, was advancing to second him. The consequence was, that, by such an unexpected and sudden assault on both sides, the Athenians were thrown into the highest confusion. Their left wing, which inclined the most towards Eion, as having filed off first, was instantly broken, and fled. These were no sooner dispersed in flight than Brasidas, advancing to the attack of the right, is wounded : he dropped ; but the Athenians are not sensible of it. Those who were near him took him up and carried him off. This accident, however, enabled the right wing of the Athenians to maintain their ground the longer ; though Cleon, who from the first had never intended to stand an engagement, fled instantly away ; and, being intercepted by a Myrcinian targetier, was slain. But his heavy-armed imbodying together and gaining an emi-

nence, repulsed Clearidas, who twice or thrice attacked them, and maintained their ground till the Myrcinian and Chalcidic cavalry and the targetiers, surrounding and pouring in their darts upon them, compelled them to fly. Thus the whole Athenian army was distressed in a laborious flight: they ran different ways among the mountains; numbers had been destroyed in the charge, others by the Chalcidic horse and targetiers; but the remainder escaped in safety to Eion.

Those who took up Brasidas, when he dropped in the action, and bore him off, carried him into the city yet alive. His senses remained till he heard his party were victorious, and soon after that he expired.*

The rest of the army, with Clearidas, being come back from the pursuit, rifled the dead and erected a trophy.

This done, all the confederates assisted under arms at the funeral of Brasidas, whom they interred at the public expense within the city near the place where the forum now stands: and afterward the Amphipolitans, having enclosed his monument, performed sacrifice to him as a hero. They also enacted solemn games in his honour, and annual sacrifices. Nay, they ascribed their colony to him as founder, after demolishing the edifices of Agnon, and defacing every memorial which might continue the memory of his foundation. They acted thus, partly out of real gratitude to Brasidas, whom they regarded as their deliverer, and partly at this juncture to show their high respect for the Lacedæmonian alliance, as they stood in great dread of the Athenians: for, considering their hostile embroilments with the Athenians, they thought it neither for their interest nor satisfaction to continue the honours of Agnon.

To the Athenians they also delivered the bodies of their dead. The number of them, on the Athenian side, amounted to six hundred, whereas the enemy lost but seven men. This was owing to the nature of the fight, which had not

* The first embassy which came from the Grecians in Thrace to Sparta, after the death of Brasidas, made a visit to his mother Argileonis. The first question she asked them was, "Did my son die bravely?" And when the ambassadors expatiated largely in his praise, and said, at last, "There was not such another Spartan left alive;"—"You mistake, gentlemen," said the mother; "my son was a good man; but there are many better men than he in Sparta."—*Plutarch's Laconic Apothegms.*

been carried on in a regular manner, but was rather a slaughter, in consequence of a surprise and sudden consternation. After the reception of their dead, the Athenians sailed away for Athens ; but those under the orders of Clearchus applied themselves to resettle and secure Amphipolis.

About the same time, in the close of this summer, Ramphias, and Autocharidas, and Epicydidas, Lacedæmonians, were conducting up, for the Thracian service, a re-enforcement consisting of nine hundred heavy-armed. Being arrived at Heraclea, in Trachis, they regulated there such things as seemed to require an amendment ; and, during the season they halted here, the battle of Amphipolis was fought, and the summer ended.

But, early as possible in the succeeding winter, the re-enforcement under Ramphias proceeded on their route as far as Pierium of Thessaly. But the Thessalians opposing their farther passage, and Brasidas being now dead, to whom they were conducting this supply, they returned home. They imagined that their aid was no longer wanting, as the Athenians, in consequence of their overthrow, had quitted that country : and themselves had not sufficient ability to carry the plans into execution which Brasidas had been meditating. But the principal motive of their return was their own consciousness, at setting out, that the Lacedæmonians were more inclined to peace.

It so fell out, indeed, immediately after the battle of Amphipolis and the return of Ramphias from Thessaly, that neither of the parties meddled any longer with the operations of war, but were more inclined to a peace. The motives on the Athenian side were these : They had received a terrible blow at Delium, and a second lately at Amphipolis : hence they no longer entertained that assured confidence of their own strength, which had formerly occasioned them to reject all accommodations, as they imagined, in their then career of success, they should soon give law to their enemies. Now also they were under apprehensions of their dependants, lest, buoyed up by the late misfortunes of Athens, they might the sooner be induced to revolt. And they heartily repented now that they had neglected the fine opportunity which their success at Pylus gave them, of bringing the dispute to a happy termination.

On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians acted on these

motives : they found themselves strangely mistaken in the events of war. At its commencement, they imagined that in the space of a few years they should entirely have demolished the power of the Athenians, by laying their territory waste ; but they had suffered a terrible calamity in the affair of Sphacteria, such as never before had been the lot of Sparta. Devastations now were extended over all their country, from Pylus to Cythera. Their Helots had also in numbers deserted to the foe ; and they lived in constant expectation that those who yet persevered in their allegiance, gained by the solicitations of those who were fled, might, in the present low ebb of Sparta, attempt to subvert their constitution, as had formerly been the case. It happened, farther, that the thirty years' truce with the Argives was on the point of expiring ; and the Argives were unwilling to renew it, unless the Cynuria was previously restored. They judged it, therefore, a plain impossibility to make head at the same time against both Argives and Athenians. They had also a suspicion that some cities of Peloponnesus would revolt from them to the Argives, which proved afterward true.

Both parties, then, being respectively influenced by such considerations, an accommodation was judged to be expedient. The anxiety of the Lacedæmonians about it was not the least, as they were eagerly bent on recovering their prisoners that had been taken at Sphacteria ; for they were all citizens of Sparta of the first rank, and allied to the most honourable families. They had begun to solicit their liberty so soon as ever they were taken ; but the Athenians, flushed with conquest, at that time disdained to treat. Yet, after the blow received at Delium, the Lacedæmonians, knowing then they were become more tractable, laid hold of the favourable juncture, and obtained a cessation of arms for a year, in which space they were, by article, to hold mutual conferences, in order to settle an accommodation for a longer time. And since the Athenians had now again more lately been totally defeated at Amphipolis, and as well Cleon as Brasidas was dead, both of whom had most strenuously opposed an accommodation ; the latter, because he was successful and reaped glories in war ; the former, because, in a season of tranquillity, his villanies must needs be detected, and his bold calumniations lose all credit ; the persons who at present were chief in the management of either state were more

strongly disposed than ever to adjust disputes. These were, Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, King of the Lacedæmonians, and Nicias, the son of Niceratus, by far the most successful general of that age. Nicias desired it, as hitherto he had never been defeated, and was bent on securing his own prosperity on a lasting foundation, on obtaining a relaxation of toils for himself, and of their present burdens for his fellow-citizens, and on leaving his name illustrious to posterity, as one who had never involved his country in calamity. These views, he judged, could only be accomplished by vacuity from danger, by exposing himself as little as possible to the uncertainties of fortune; and vacuity from danger was compatible solely with peace. Pleistoanax had been calumniated by his enemies on the account of his restoration; and they invidiously suggested to his prejudice, upon every loss whatever which the Lacedæmonians sustained, that such was the consequence of transgressing the laws in the repeal of his banishment: for they laid to his charge that, in concert with his brother Aristocles, he had suborned the priestess of Delphi to give one general answer to all the deputations sent by the Lacedæmonians to consult the oracle, that "they should bring back the seed of the demigod son of Jove from a foreign land into their own country: if not, they should plough with a silver ploughshare;" and thus, at length, so seduced the Lacedæmonians in the favour of an exile, residing at Lycæum, upon account of his precipitate retreat out of Attica, as though purchased by bribes from the enemy, and from a dread of his countrymen dwelling in a house, one half of which was part of the temple of Jupiter, that nineteen years after they conducted him home with the same solemn procession and sacrifices as those who were the original founders of Lacedæmon had appointed for the inauguration of their kings. Repining, therefore, at these calumniations, and judging that, as peace giveth no room for miscarriage, and that farther, if the Lacedæmonians could recover the prisoners, his enemies would be debarred of a handle for detraction; whereas, while the chances of war subsisted, the persons at the helm of government must be liable to reproaches for every disaster, he was earnestly desirous to bring about an accommodation.

This winter, therefore, they proceeded to a conference; and, at the approach of spring, great preparations were openly

in hand on the Lacedæmonian side, and a scheme for fortifying in Attica was circulated through all the states, in order to render the Athenians more compliant. Many meetings were held, and many demands, with large justifications, were urged on both sides, till at length it was agreed that "a peace should be concluded, each party restoring what they had conquered in the war, but Nisæa to remain in the hands of the Athenians." Platæa was redemanded by the latter, but the Thebans urged that it had not fallen into their hands by force or by treachery, but they possessed it in pursuance of a free and voluntary surrender. And, upon the same plea, the Athenians kept Nisæa.

Things being so far adjusted, the Lacedæmonians called together their confederates; and all their voices, excepting those of the Boeotians, and Corinthians, and Eleans, and Megareans, who were not at all satisfied with these proceedings, concurring for a peace, they ratified the accommodation, and solemnly pledged the observance of it to the Athenians, who, in exchange, swore the same to the Lacedæmonians, in effect as followeth:—

"The Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and their allies, have made peace on these terms, and every state hath sworn to their observance.

"In regard to the common temples: Permission is granted, to all who desire it, to sacrifice, to visit, to consult the oracles, to send public deputations, in the prescribed forms of every people, both by land and sea, without any molestation.

"That the sacred soil of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and Delphi itself, be ruled after its own model, be taxed at its own discretion, and be administered by its own magistrates, whose determinations to be final, both in regard to life and property, according to the primitive laws of the place.

"That this peace continue for the space of fifty years, between the Athenians and the confederates of the Athenians on the one side, and the Lacedæmonians and the confederates of the Lacedæmonians on the other, without fraud and without molestation, both at land and sea.

"Be it farther unlawful for either party to take up arms to the detriment of the other; neither the Lacedæmonians and their allies against the Athenians and their allies, nor the Athenians and their allies against the Lacedæmonians and their allies, without any fraud or evasion whatsoever. And,

if any difference intervene between the contracting parties, let it be adjusted according to equity, and upon oath, in such manner as they shall agree.

"Agreed, farther, that the Lacedæmonians and allies deliver up Amphipolis to the Athenians.

"That, whatever cities the Lacedæmonians deliver up to the Athenians, leave be given to the inhabitants to remove at their own discretion, with all their effects.

"That the cities which pay the assessments rated by Aristides enjoy all their rights and privileges whatever.

"And, be it unlawful for the Athenians and their allies to take up arms to the annoyance of those cities which pay that assessment, from the time that this treaty be in force. Those cities are, Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus; these cities to observe a strict neutrality, forming no engagements with either Lacedæmonians or Athenians. Provided, that if the Athenians can by fair means prevail upon these cities, it be lawful for the Athenians to admit them confederates at their own free choice.

"That the Mecyberneans, and Saneans, and Singeans, shall inhabit their own cities in the same manner as the Olynthians and Acanthians.

"Agreed, farther, that the Lacedæmonians and allies restore Panactum to the Athenians.

"That the Athenians restore to the Lacedæmonians Coryphasium,* and Cythera, and Methone, and Pteleum, and Atalanta, and all the Lacedæmonians, now prisoners of the state at Athens, or public prisoners, in any quarter soever within the dominions of Athens; and to give leave of departure to all the Peloponnesians blocked up in Scione, and to all the confederates of the Peloponnesians whatever in Scione, and to all persons whatever whom Brasidas placed there. This article also to extend to any confederates of the Lacedæmonians now public prisoners in Athens, or public prisoners in any other quarter of the Athenian dominions.

"That, in return, the Lacedæmonians and allies release all the prisoners, both Athenians and confederates, which are now in their hands.

"That, in regard to the Scioneans, Toroneans, and Ser-

* This includes the fort of Pylos, seated on the cape of Coryphasium.

mylians, and any other city belonging of right to the Athenians, the Athenians to proceed with the cities specified, and all the others, at their own discretion.

"That the Athenians shall swear observance to the Lacedæmonians and their allies separately, according to their cities. Let both sides swear, in the most solemn manner, according to the forms of each separate state; and the oath to be conceived in these words: 'I abide by my compacts and the present articles, honestly, and without equivocation.' Be an oath taken to the Athenians, by the Lacedæmonians and allies, to the same purport.

"Be this oath renewed annually by the contracting parties.

"Be pillars erected at Olympias, at Pythus, at the isthmus, and at Athens, in the citadel, and at Lacedæmon, in the Amycleum, with this treaty inscribed upon them.

"If any point be in any manner or degree, for the present, through forgetfulness on either side, omitted; or if any thing, upon a serious consultation holden, be judged more proper, the Lacedæmonians and Athenians are empowered, with all due regard to their oaths, to make additions and alterations, at their joint discretions.

"Pleistolas, presiding in the college of Ephori, puts this treaty in force at Sparta on the twenty-seventh day of the month Artemisius: at Athens, Alcæus, the archon, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebolion.

"Those who took the oath and sacrificed were:—

"On the Lacedæmonian side,—Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Tellis, Alcinidas, Empedias, Menas, Lamphilus.

"On the Athenian,—Lampo, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thrasyacles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leo, Lamachus, Demosthenes."

This treaty was perfected upon the close of the winter, in the first commencement of the spring, immediately after the Bacchanalian festivals at Athens. Ten complete years and some few days over were elapsed since the first irruption into Attica and an open commencement of the war. And let him that would be assured of the truth compute only by the seasons of the year, and not by those who, in the contending states, were either archons, or, by the offices they

bore, had events distinguished by an enumeration of their names. For it cannot be exactly known in what determinate part, whether in the beginning or middle, or any other portion, of a magistracy, any important event occurred. But, if the computation proceed by summers and winters, which method I have observed, such an inquirer will find that these two halves being equivalent to a whole year, ten complete summers and the same number of winters elapsed in the course of this first part of the war.

The Lacedæmonians, for to them it fell by lot to make the first restitutions, released immediately what prisoners they had in their hands; and, having despatched Ischagoras, and Menas, and Philocharidas, in the quality of their ambassadors to the cities of Thrace, ordered Clearidas to deliver up Amphipolis to the Athenians, and all the confederates there to submit to the terms of the treaty, according to the stipulation given for them. But this they positively refused, as they judged the treaty prejudicial. Clearidas also, to ingratiate himself with the Chalcideans, would not deliver up Amphipolis, alleging that, without their concurrence, he could not possibly do it. He himself returned in person soon after with the ambassadors, in order to make his defence at Lacedæmon, should Ischagoras accuse him there of disobeying orders. His view was, farther, to try if the accommodation could by any means be evaded. But, when he found it fast confirmed, he posted back with all speed to his government, having express orders from the Lacedæmonians to deliver up Amphipolis; or, if that was beyond his power, to cause all the Peloponnesians within that garrison instantly to evacuate the place.

The confederates happened at this juncture to be at Lacedæmon, where such of them as had hitherto refused to accept the treaty were ordered by the Lacedæmonians to accede to it. But this they positively refused, alleging the same reason as before; and plainly affirming that "they would not come in till better terms than the present were obtained for them." Their remonstrance had no effect upon the Lacedæmonians, who sent them away without redress, and struck up forthwith an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Athenians. They had reason to conclude that "the Argives would come to no agreement with them," since they had lately declared a negative to their ambassadors, Ampeli-

das and Lichas; "and yet these Argives," they judged, "could be no dreadful foe without the Athenians; and that the rest of Peloponnesus would not now presume to interfere, who, without this method of prevention, would certainly have gone over to the Athenians." An Athenian embassy, therefore, being at this crisis resident among them, a conference was holden, and the terms completely adjusted. The ratification was made by solemn oath, and the articles of this alliance, offensive and defensive, were these:—

"The Lacedæmonians enter into this alliance for the term of fifty years.—Provided that

"If any enemy enter the territories of the Lacedæmonians, and commit any manner of hostilities to their prejudice, the Athenians march forthwith to their succour, with all the possible means of redress, and with their whole united force.

"And, in case such invaders shall have withdrawn themselves, that the state under which they acted be declared an enemy both to the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, both which are to join in acting offensively against that state, nor to lay down their arms without the mutual consent of both the contracting states.

"These terms to be observed with honour, with alacrity, and without any fraud whatever.

"Provided, farther, that if any enemy enter the territories of the Athenians, and commit hostilities to the prejudice of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians march forthwith to their succour, with all the possible means of redress, and with their whole united force.

"And, in case such invaders shall have withdrawn themselves, that the state under which they acted be declared an enemy both to Lacedæmonians and Athenians, both which are to join in acting offensively against that state, nor to lay down their arms without the mutual consent of both the contracting states.

"These terms also to be observed with honour, with alacrity, and without any fraud whatever.

"Provided, farther, that if there happen any insurrection among the Helots, the Athenians march to the succour of the Lacedæmonians with their whole strength, to the full extent of their power.

"The same persons, on both sides, shall swear to the observance of these articles who swore to the former.

"The oaths to be annually renewed; for which purpose the Lacedæmonians shall give their attendance at Athens, at the Bacchanalian festival; and the Athenians theirs at Lacedæmon, at the Hyacinthian.

"Both parties to erect their pillar; one at Lacedæmon, near Apollo's, in the Amycleum; the other at Athens, near Minerva's, in the citadel.

"And, in case the Lacedæmonians and Athenians think proper to make any additions or alterations in the terms of this alliance, the same lawfully to be done by both, at their joint discretion.

"The oath of observance was sworn:—

"On the Lacedæmonian side, by Pleistoanax,* Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Alcidas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus

"On the Athenian side, by Lampo, Isthmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leo, Lamachus, Demosthenes."

This alliance was concluded in a very little time after the treaty of peace; and the Athenians now released to the Lacedæmonians their Spartans, who were made prisoners at Sphacteria. The summer also of the eleventh year was now begun; and so far the transactions of these first ten years of this war, closely carried on, have been regularly compiled.

YEAR XI.†

After the treaty of peace and the alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, both which were concluded after the ten years' war, at the time when Pleistolas presided in the college of ephori at Sparta, and Alcæus was archon at Athens, the peace became in force among the acceding parties. But the Corinthians and some of the Peloponnesian states were endeavouring the overthrow of all these proceedings: and immediately there arose another great combustion among the confederates against Lacedæmon. More than this, as time advanced, the Lacedæmonians became suspected by the Athenians, as they

* The kings sign this alliance, but did not sign the former treaty.

† Before Christ 421.

showed no great punctuality in executing the conditions of the peace. For the space of six years and ten months, they refrained indeed from entering one another's territory in a hostile manner; but, during such a correspondence, which abounded in suspicions, they were, in all other respects, active in a reciprocal annoyance. And at length, necessitated to dissolve the treaty concluded at the ten years' period, they engaged afresh in open war.

The same Thucydides, an Athenian, has also compiled an account of these latter transactions in a regular series, according to the summers and winters, down to that period of time when the Lacedæmonians and their allies put an end to the empire of Athens, and became masters of the long walls and the Piræus. The whole continuance of the war to this period was twenty-seven years. And, if any man be inclined to think that this intervening accommodation should not be reckoned as war, he will find no arguments to support his opinion; for let him only survey the transactions as they are distinctly related, and he will find it an absurdity to pronounce that an interval of peace, in which neither all the restitutions were made, nor the benefits obtained, which the mutual stipulations required. And, setting these considerations aside, in the Mantinean, and Epidauric, and other wars, transgressions were committed on both sides. The confederates also of Thrace continued still to be as great enemies as ever; and the Bœotians never agreed to more than a bare cessation of arms, renewable every tenth day.

Including, therefore, the first war, which lasted ten years, and that suspicious interval which ensued, and ended at last in a second open rupture, the whole continuance, if computed by summers and winters, will turn out, upon inquiry, to have been so many years, and some few additional days. And such as laid stress upon the predictions of oracles can assent only to this computation as genuine. For my own part, I perfectly well remember that, not only at the commencement, but even during the whole course of the war, many such predictions were given out, that "it must needs continue three times nine years." I also lived through its whole extent, in the very flower of my understanding and strength, and with a close application of my thoughts, to gain an exact insight into all its occurrences. It was farther my lot to suffer a twenty years' exile from my country after my

employment in the business of Amphipolis, and to be present at the transactions of both parties, and not the least at those of the Peloponnesians, in consequence of my banishment, by which means I had leisure to gather more ample information about them. I shall relate therefore the quarrel and breach of the treaty, subsequent to the first ten years, and the incidents of the war which afterward ensued.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of peace for fifty years, and the subsequent alliance, the embassies from the different states of Peloponnesus, who had been summoned thither to give their concurrence, withdrew from Lacedæmon. The rest of them indeed went directly home; but the Corinthians, stopping in their return at Argos, began first, at a conference with some of the magistracy there, to insinuate, "that since the Lacedæmonians, not in order to serve but to enslave Peloponnesus, had entered into a treaty and an alliance, offensive and defensive, with their once most inveterate foes, the Athenians, it highly behoved the Argives now to watch over the preservation of Peloponnesus, and to form a public resolution,—that any Grecian state which is free and uncontrolled, which enjoys and supports an equal share of rights and privileges, might enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Argives, for the guard of their mutual properties against their common foes:—this to be communicated only to the few who were absolute masters of the decisions of each state, and everywhere to shun all conference with the bulk of the people, lest the scheme might be detected, in case the multitude should refuse their concurrence." They assured them that the majority of the states were so exasperated against the Lacedæmonians, that they would infallibly come in. And, after suggesting such a course, the Corinthians also returned home.

The persons at Argos who had listened to these insinuations reported the scheme, in the next place, to the whole magistracy and people of Argos. The Argives resolved accordingly, and elected a committee of twelve, with whom such Grecians as desired it might agree upon an alliance, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians excepted. Neither of these states was permitted to treat with the Argives, without the public consent of the whole people.

The Argives were the more readily persuaded to such a measure, as they plainly saw a war was unavoidable between

themselves and the Lacedæmonians; for the truce between them was on the point of expiring. They were also animated by the hope of gaining into their hands the sovereignty of Peloponnesus; for, at this juncture of time, Lacedæmon lay under the greatest discredit, and was fallen into utter contempt upon account of their late disasters; whereas the Argives were in the high vigour of their strength in all respects, as they had never interfered in the Attic war; and, having observed an exact neutrality with both, had been thriving in peace and plenty. The Argives, therefore, in this manner invited those Grecians who were willing to enter into their alliance.

The Mantineans and allies were the first who, out of a dread of the Lacedæmonians, accepted the proposal. For these Mantineans, in the heat of the war against the Athenians, had seized and appropriated to themselves a certain district of Arcadia subject to Lacedæmon, and now concluded that the Lacedæmonians would never leave them in the quiet possession of it, when they were at liberty to act for its recovery. This readily induced them to have recourse to the league of Argos, regarded by them as a powerful state, which had ever been at variance with Lacedæmon, and, like their own, was democratical.

No sooner had the Mantineans revolted, than the rest of Peloponnesus began to mutter that "they ought also to take the same step," imagining that revolt to have been founded upon some stronger reasons than yet appeared; exasperated also against the Lacedæmonians for sundry reasons, and, above all, for this article in the peace with Athens,—that "in case the two states of Lacedæmon and Athens think proper to make any additions or alterations, the same to be lawful." For this was the clause which gave the greatest alarm to Peloponnesus, and inspired a jealousy that the Lacedæmonians might strike up a bargain with the Athenians to enslave the other states: since, in justice, no alteration ought to be made without the concurrence of the whole confederacy. Alarmed, therefore, at these proceedings, many of them made instant application to the Argives, exerting their several endeavours to obtain their alliance.

But the Lacedæmonians perceiving what a combustion was arisen in Peloponnesus, principally owing to the insinuations of the Corinthians, who were also going to enter into this league with Argos, they despatched ambassadors to Cor-

inth, from a desire to prevent what might ensue. Here they represented to them "how criminal their conduct had been, in having thus originally fomented the present tumult; and that, in case they abandoned the Lacedæmonians and went over to the Argive league," they assured them that, "by such a step, they must break the most sacred oaths; injustice they had already committed in refusing to accede to the Athenian peace, since, pursuant to old stipulations between them, whatever a majority of the confederates resolved was to be binding on all, unless some god or hero enjoined a dissent." But the Corinthians, in the presence of all those of the confederacy who had not accepted the peace, and whose attendance they had previously invited, replied to the Lacedæmonians without entering into a particular detail of the injuries they had done them, in not covenanting with the Athenians for the restitution of Solium, or Anactorium, or any other point in which they thought themselves aggrieved; but speciously pretending that "they could never abandon their allies in Thrace, whom by solemn oaths they were bound to support; oaths which they had severally sworn when they first revolted in concert with the Potidæans, and had on other occasions since renewed:" arguing from hence that "they could not have violated the common oath of the confederates in refusing their accession to the Athenian peace, since, as they had sworn upon the faith of the gods to the former, they could not betray them without the guilt of perjury. The stipulation, indeed, ran thus: 'unless some god or hero enjoined a dissent:'—their present dissent, therefore, appeared to them to be a divine injunction." So far they argued from their former oaths; and, in regard to the alliance offensive and defensive with Argos,—“They would hold consultations with their friends, and take such steps as were expedient and just.” And with this answer the Lacedæmonian ambassadors departed home. An Argive embassy happened also at the same time to be at Corinth, who pressed the Corinthians to enter into their league without any farther hesitation. They desired them to attend, at the next public meeting they held, for a final answer.

There arrived soon after an embassy from the Eleans, who made, in the first place, an alliance offensive and defensive with the Corinthians; and then from Corinth repairing to Argos, became allies of the Argives, according to the scheme

pre-established for this purpose ; for a misunderstanding had arisen between them and the Lacedæmonians about Lepreum. In a former war of the Lepreatæ against a province of Arcadia, the Eleans had been prevailed upon to join the Lepreatæ for a moiety of the land that should be conquered ; and, at the conclusion of the war, the Eleans left all the land in the management of the Lepreatæ subject to the annual tribute of a talent* to Olympian Jove. This was regularly paid till the Athenian war ; but, that war being then made a pretence of its discontinuance, the Eleans would have exacted it by force. The others had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. The dispute was referred to the Lacedæmonian arbitration ; but the Eleans, taking up a suspicion that they should not have justice, would not abide the reference, but began to ravage the territory of the Lepreatæ. The Lacedæmonians, notwithstanding this, proceeded to a sentence :—that “ the Lepreatæ were masters of their own conduct, and that the Eleans were guilty of injustice :” and, as the latter would not abide by their arbitration, they threw a garrison of heavy-armed into Lepreum ; but the Eleans, regarding this step as the reception of a city by the Lacedæmonians which had revolted from them, and alleging the treaty in which it was stipulated,—that, “ of whatever places the parties were possessed upon the commencement of the Attic war, the same they should continue to hold at its expiration,” as if they had met with injustice, they revolted to the Argives ; and the Eleans entered into that league offensive and defensive, as has been already related.

The Corinthians soon followed their example, and with the Chalcideans, also of Thrace, became the allies of Argos. But the Bœotians and Megareans, though they had threatened the same thing, thought proper to drop it. They had been ill used by the Lacedæmonians, but judged, however, that the democracy of the Argives would be less compatible with their interests, whose form of government was oligarchical, than the polity of the Lacedæmonians.

About the same time of this summer, the Athenians, becoming masters of the Scioneans, after a long blockade, put all who were able to bear arms to the sword, and made their wives and children slaves, and gave the land to be cultured by the Platæans.

* 193*l*. 15*s*. sterling.

They also again brought back the Delians to Delos ; induced to it by the many defeats they had suffered in battle, and the express oracle of the god at Delphi.

The Phocians also, and Locrians, began about this time to make war upon one another.

And now the Corinthians and Argives, united in league, go together to Tegea, to persuade its revolt from the Lacedæmonians. They saw it was a large district ; and, in case they compassed its accession, they imagined the whole of Peloponnesus would be at their beck. But, when the Tegeatæ declared that "they would in no shape oppose the Lacedæmonians," the Corinthians, who till now had acted with great alacrity, slackened in their zeal for contention, and began to fear that no more of the states would come in. They proceeded, however, to the Bœotians, and solicited them "to accede to the league between themselves and Argives, and to co-operate with them for the common welfare." And, as there were truces for ten days between the Athenians and Bœotians, which were agreed upon soon after the peace for fifty years was made, the Corinthians now pressed the Bœotians "to accompany them to Athens, and solicit for truces of the same nature for them ; but, in case the Athenians refused to grant them, to renounce the suspension of arms, and, for the future, never to treat without their concurrence." The Bœotians, thus solicited by the Corinthians, desired a longer time to consider about their accession to the Argive league. To Athens, indeed, they bore them company, but could not obtain the ten days' truces : for the Athenians answered, "The Corinthians have a peace already, if they are confederates of the Lacedæmonians." And, upon the whole, the Bœotians absolutely refused to renounce their own truces, though the Corinthians insisted upon it, and urged, with some warm expostulations, that it had been so covenanted between them. So there was only a mere cessation of arms between the Corinthians and Athenians, without any solemn ratification.

This same summer the Lacedæmonians took the field with their whole united force, under the command of Pleistanax, the son of Pausanias, King of the Lacedæmonians, and marched to the Parrhasians of Arcadia. These were subject to the Mantineans, and, in consequence of a sedition, had invited this expedition. But it was also designed, if possible,

to demolish the fortress of Cypselæ, which the Mantineans had erected, and, as it was situated in Parrhasia, towards the skirts of Laconia, had placed a garrison in it. The Lacedæmonians therefore ravaged the territory of the Parrhasians. But the Mantineans, leaving their own city to the guard of the Argives, marched themselves to the support of their dependants. But, finding it impossible to preserve the fortress of Cypselæ and the cities of the Parrhasians, they retired. The Lacedæmonians also, when they had set the Parrhasians at liberty, and demolished the fortress, withdrew their forces.

The same summer also, upon the return from Thrace of those soldiers who had served under Brasidas, and who came home after the peace under the conduct of Clearidas, the Lacedæmonians decreed "those Helots who had served under Brasidas to be free, and to have permission to reside wherever they pleased." And, no long time after, they placed them together, with such persons as were newly enfranchised, at Lepreum: it is situated between Laconia and Elea; and they were now at variance with the Eleans. As for those Spartans who had been made prisoners in Sphacteria, and had delivered up their arms, conceiving some fears about them, lest, should they lay their late disgrace too much to heart, as they were persons of the greatest rank, they might introduce some innovations in the state, they declared them infamous, even though some of the number were at this time possessed of posts in the government. But this infamy extended no farther than to disqualify them from offices, and from buying and selling: yet, in a short time afterward, they were again restored to their full privileges.

The same summer also the Dietideans took Thyssus, a town seated upon the Athos, and confederate with the Athenians.

Through the whole course of the summer, the communication was open between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. Not but that the Athenians and Lacedæmonians began to be jealous of one another immediately after the peace, as the reciprocal restitution of places was not punctually performed. For, though it had fallen to the Lacedæmonians' lot to begin these restitutions, yet they had not restored Amphipolis and other cities. They had compelled neither their confederates in Thrace, nor the Boeotians, nor the Cerinthians, to accept

the peace, always pretending that, "should they refuse it, they were ready to join with the Athenians in their compulsion;" nay, they limited to them a time, though not by a regular written notice, "within which such as did not accede were declared enemies to both." The Athenians, therefore, seeing none of these points were put in actual execution, became jealous of the Lacedæmonians, as men who acted insincerely in every step; insomuch that, when Pylus was re-demanded, they refused its restitution, and heartily repented that they had released the prisoners taken at Sphacteria. They also kept possession of other places, and intended to do so till the other side had performed their engagements. But the Lacedæmonians alleged "they had done every thing in their power; that, for instance, they had released such Athenians as were prisoners among them, had recalled their soldiers from Thrace, and, wherever they were masters of the execution, had performed it. As to Amphipolis," they said, "they were not so far masters of it as to make an actual surrender. They had omitted no endeavours to bring the Bœotians and Corinthians to a compliance, to recover the disposal of Panactum, and to obtain the dismission of those Athenians who were prisoners of war in Bœotia. Pylus, however," they insisted, "should immediately be restored to them; at least, that the Messenians and Helots should be withdrawn, as their people had been from Thrace; and then the Athenians, if they pleased, might continue to garrison that fortress themselves." Many meetings were held, and much argumentation passed between them this summer; and at last they prevailed upon the Athenians to withdraw from Pylus the Messenians and others, as well Helots as all deserters whatever out of Laconia. These they transplanted to Crania of Cephallene. This summer, therefore, was a season of inaction, and the intercourse was open between them.

In the ensuing winter, for other ephori were in office, as the authority of those under whom the peace was made was now expired, and some who were averse to the peace had succeeded, embassies attending from the whole confederacy, the Athenians, and Bœotians, and Corinthians also being present, and after much reciprocal altercation, coming to no regular agreement, the rest of them separated to their own homes without effect. But Cleobulus and Xenares, those two of the ephori who were most inclined to dissolve the

peace, detained the Bœotians and Corinthians for a private conference. In this they exhorted them "to act unanimously in promotion of their scheme; in pursuance of which the Bœotians should first make themselves a party in the Argive league, and then employ their good offices to form an alliance between the Argives and Lacedæmonians: for, by these methods, the Bœotians could least of all be necessitated to take part in the Attic peace; as the Lacedæmonians would prefer the renewal of friendship and alliance with the Argives to the enmity of the Athenians and the dissolution of the peace; since, to their certain knowledge, the Lacedæmonians had ever been desirous to have the friendship of Argos, consistently with their honour; knowing it would facilitate the success of their war without Peloponnesus." They also requested the Bœotians "to deliver up Panactum to the Lacedæmonians; that, exchanging it if possible for Pylus, they might get clear of the main obstacle to a fresh rupture with the Athenians."

The Bœotians and Corinthians, instructed by Xenares and Cleobulus, and the party in their interest at Lacedæmon, departed, both, to report this scheme to their principals. But two persons, of the greatest authority in the state of Argos, were attending upon the road for their return. They met, and conferred with them "about the means of gaining the concurrence of the Bœotians in this league, upon the same footing with the Corinthians, and Eleans, and Mantineans: for they were confident, were this point once completed, they might easily become the arbiters of war or peace, either in relation to the Lacedæmonians (if they so determined, and would act together with firm unanimity), or to take any other state whatever."

The Bœotian ambassadors were highly delighted with this discourse. The solicitations of these Argives happened to coincide with the instructions recommended to them by their friends at Lacedæmon. And the Argives, finding them satisfied with their motion, assured them they would send ambassadors to the Bœotians, and so they parted.

But the Bœotians, at their return, reported to the rulers of Bœotia the proposals from Lacedæmon, and those from the Argives upon the road. The Bœotian rulers were delighted, and grew now more zealous than ever; because, on both sides, from their Lacedæmonian friends, and also from the Argives,

the solicitations were concurrent. And, very soon after, the Argive ambassadors arrived to forward the despatch of the treaty. The Bœotian rulers, however, at present, gave only a verbal approbation of the scheme, and then dismissed them, promising to send an embassy of their own to Argos to perfect the alliance.

But, in the meantime, it was judged to be previously expedient that the Bœotian rulers, and the Corinthians, and the Megareans, and the ambassadors from the allies of Thrace, should mutually interchange their oaths, "to act in support of one another, if upon any occasion such support might be requisite, and to enter neither into war nor peace without joint consent;" and then the Bœotians and Megareans (for these acted in union) to form a league with the Argives: but, before such exchange of oaths, the Bœotian rulers communicated the whole of the plan to the four Bœotian councils, in whom the sovereignty is lodged; recommending it, as worthy their confirmation, that "whatever cities were willing might mutually interchange such oaths for their reciprocal advantage." Yet the Bœotians who composed the councils refused a confirmation; apprehensive it might tend to embroil them with the Lacedæmonians, should they pledge such an oath to the Corinthians, who were now abandoning the Lacedæmonian interest: for the rulers had not made them privy to the scheme from Lacedæmon, how "Xenares and Cleobulus, of the college of ephori, and their friends, advise them to enter first into league with the Argives and Corinthians, and then to extend it to the Lacedæmonians." They had presumed that the supreme council, though they secreted these lights, would not resolve against a plan which themselves had predigested and recommended to them. But now, as this affair took so wrong a turn, the Corinthians and ambassadors from Thrace went home without effect; and the Bœotian rulers, who had all along intended, in case their scheme had passed, to perfect an alliance with the Argives, made no farther report to the councils in relation to the Argives, sent no embassy to Argos in consequence of their promise, but suffered the whole plan to sink away in careless and dilatory unconcern.

In this same winter the Olynthians, after a sudden assault, took Mecyberne, which was garrisoned by Athenians.

After the former proceedings,—for conferences were still

continued between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians about those places they held from one another, the Lacedæmonians, conceiving some hope that, if the Athenians could recover Panactum from the Bœotians, they also might regain Pylus, addressed themselves in solemn embassy to the Bœotians, and importuned them to deliver up Panactum and the Athenian prisoners, that they in return might get Pylus from them. But the Bœotians persisted in a refusal, unless they would make a separate alliance with them, as they had done with the Athenians. Upon this the Lacedæmonians, though convinced that such a step would be injustice to the Athenians, since it had been stipulated that, "without joint consent, they should neither make peace nor war," yet, bent on the recovery of Panactum, that they might exchange it for Pylus, the party at the same time among them who were meditating a fresh rupture, inclining to the Bœotian interest, made the requisite alliance in the very close of this winter on the approach of spring. The consequence was, that Panactum was immediately levelled with the ground; and the eleventh year of the war was brought to a conclusion.

YEAR XII.*

Early in the spring of that summer which was now approaching, the Argives,—when the expected embassy from Bœotia was not arrived in pursuance of promise, when they found that Panactum was demolished, and a separate alliance struck up between the Bœotians and Lacedæmonians,—began to fear they should be totally abandoned, and that their whole confederacy would go over to the Lacedæmonians. They concluded that, through the prevalence of the Lacedæmonian arguments, the Bœotians had been persuaded to level Panactum and accede to the treaty made with Athens, and that the Athenians were privy to all these steps; and so, of consequence, they themselves were now utterly excluded from an alliance with the Athenians, and their former hopes entirely blasted, that, in case disputes should arise, and their treaty with the Lacedæmonians not be renewed, they might, at worst, depend on gaining the Athenian alliance. The Argives, therefore, amid these perplexities, and the dread of being attacked at once by the Lacedæmonians and Te

* Before Christ 420.

geats, by the Bœotians and Athenians, as they had formerly refused an accommodation with the Lacedæmonians, and had grasped in thought at the sovereignty of Peloponnesus ;—the Argives, I say, had no longer one moment to lose, but despatched instantly Eustrophus and Æson, whom they judged to be persons most agreeable there, in embassy to Lacedæmon. They now judged it their interest to procure the best peace which the present posture of affairs would allow from the Lacedæmonians, and then quietly to attend the event of things. In this view the ambassadors, on their arrival, had a conference with the Lacedæmonians about the terms of a peace ; and at first the Argives insisted that, “to some state or private person should be referred, for equitable arbitration, the controversy between them about the district of Cynuria ;” concerning which, as it is frontier to both, they are eternally at variance : in this district stand the cities of Thyrea and Anthena, and the possession of it is in the hands of the Lacedæmonians. But, at length, when the Lacedæmonians would not suffer any mention to be made of this, declaring only that, “were they willing to renew the former truce, they should find them complying,” the Argive ambassadors, however, prevailed upon the Lacedæmonians to agree to these proposals : that, “for the present, a peace should be concluded for the term of fifty years ; provided, notwithstanding, that liberty remain to either party to send a challenge, when neither was embarrassed by plague or war, and the right of this district be then decided by arms between Lacedæmon and Argos, as had formerly been done* when the

* Herodotus relates this remarkable piece of history in Clio. “They had a conference,” says he, “and came to an agreement, that three hundred men on each side should decide the point by combat, and the land contested should remain the property of the victors ; that both armies in the meantime should retire within their respective dominions, nor be present at the combat, lest, by being spectators of it, either of them, seeing their countrymen defeated, might run to their assistance. When articles were settled, both armies drew off ; those selected on each side for the combat stayed behind and engaged. They fought it out with equal resolution and fortune ; of six hundred men only three were left alive ; two of them Argives, Alcino and Chronius ; and one Lacedæmonian, Othryades ; these were all the survivors when night came on. The Argives, as victors, ran in haste to Argos ; but Othryades, for the Lacedæmonians, having

victory was claimed on both sides : and that, in this case, it be not lawful to carry the pursuit beyond the boundaries of either Argos or Lacedæmon." These proposals, it is true, appeared at first to the Lacedæmonians to be foolish : but, at length, as their necessary interest made them vastly desirous of the Argive friendship, they complied with the demand, and the terms agreed on were digested into writing. But the Lacedæmonians, before they put the last hand to the treaty, insisted on their previous return to Argos, and reporting it to the people ; and, in case the ratification was given, to repair again to Lacedæmon, at the Hyacinthian festival, and swear observance. And upon this they returned to Argos.

While the Argives were employed in this negotiation, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, Andromenes, and Phædimus, and Antimenidas, who were commissioned to receive Panactum and the prisoners of war from the Bœotians, and deliver them over into the hands of the Athenians, found, upon their arrival, that Panactum was already demolished by the Bœotians, upon pretext that, "in former times, upon occasion of some dispute about it, an oath had been taken by the Athenians and Bœotians, that neither should inhabit that place, excluding the other, but should jointly possess it ;" but what Athenian prisoners of war were in the hands of the Bœotians were delivered up to Andromenes and his colleagues, who carried and released them to the Athenians. They also reported the demolition of Panactum, declaring this to be equivalent to a restitution, as no enemy to Athens could occupy that post for the future.

These words were no sooner heard than the Athenians conceived the deepest resentments. They thought themselves injured by the Lacedæmonians, not only in the demolition of Panactum, which ought to have been restored stand-

stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carried off their arms to the place where his own side had encamped, continued upon the field of battle. Next morning both parties came to learn the event ; and then, truly, each party also claimed the victory ; one averring that a majority survived on their side ; the other maintaining that even those had fled, while their own combatant had kept his ground and spoiled the dead. In short, from wrangling, they came again to blows and a general engagement ; in which, after great slaughter on both sides, the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory."

ing, but also in the separate alliance made lately with the Boeotians, of which they now had notice, in open contradiction to their own declaration, "of joining them to compel by force such as would not accede to the treaty." They reflected also upon other points in which the engagements of the treaty had been in nowise fulfilled, and concluded themselves overreached. For these reasons they gave a rough answer to the ambassadors, and an instant dismission.

Upon so much umbrage, taken by the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians, such persons at Athens as were willing to dissolve the peace, set themselves instantly at work to accomplish their views. Others were labouring the same point, but none more than Alcibiades, the son of Clinias;* a person, in respect of age, even then but a youth; at least he would have passed for such in the other states, though for the dignity of his birth he was much honoured and caressed. It

* Alcibiades is here beginning his political intrigues, to open the field for his own soaring and enterprising genius to dilate itself more at large. Pericles was his near relation and guardian; Socrates was his friend and guide so long as virtue was his care. Warmer passions soon gained the ascendant over him; and he plunged into all the busy scenes of life, with that intense application and flexible address to all persons and all occasions, which surprised the world; "more changeable than a chameleon," as Plutarch expresses it, "since that creature cannot put on a fair or white appearance." His character is thus drawn in miniature by the neat and masterly pen of Cornelius Nepos: "Nature," says he, "seems to have exerted her utmost power in Alcibiades. It is agreed by all writers who have made him the subject of their pens, that a more extraordinary man never lived either for virtues or vices. Born in a most noble republic, of a most honourable family, by far the handsomest person of his age, fit for every thing, and full of address; he was a commander that made the greatest figure both by land and sea; an orator whom none could surpass; nay, his manner and matter, when he spoke, were quite irresistible. Exactly as occasion required, he was laborious, persevering, indefatigable, generous; splendid in all his outward appearance, and at his table full of affability, profuse of civility, and of the utmost dexterity in adapting himself to the exigences of time; and yet, in the seasons of relaxation, and when business no longer required him to keep his faculties on the stretch, he was luxurious, dissolute, lewd, and intemperate. The whole world was astonished that so vast an unlikeness, and so different a nature, should be united in the same person."

seemed to him the most expedient step to form a good understanding with the Argives. Not but that his opposition to other measures was the result of his ambition and a study of contention, because the Lacedæmonians had employed their interest in Nicias and Laches to perfect the treaty, slighting his assistance upon account of his youth, nor paying him the deference he expected from the ancient hospitality between that state and the family from which he was descended. This, indeed, his grandfather had renounced; but he himself, in the view of renewing it, had shown extraordinary civilities to the Spartans who were made prisoners at Sphacteria. Thinking himself, therefore, in all respects slighted, at this crisis he began openly to oppose them: he affirmed, that "the Lacedæmonians were a people who could not be trusted; that they had treacherously entered into the peace in order to divert the Argives from their alliance, that again they might attack the Athenians when left alone." Nay, farther; upon the first dissatisfaction between them, he secretly despatched his emissaries to Argos, exhorting them "at his invitation to come to Athens, in company with the Mantineans and Eleans, and solicit an alliance, since opportunity favoured, and his whole interest should be exerted in their support."

The Argives having heard these suggestions, and being now convinced that the Bœotian separate alliance had been made without the privity of the Athenians, who, on the contrary, were highly discontented at the Lacedæmonian proceedings, took no farther notice of their embassy at Lacedæmon, though sent expressly there to negotiate an accommodation, but recalled all their attention from thence to the Athenians. They reflected that Athens, a state which from long activity had been their friend, which was governed by a democracy in the same manner as their own, and which was possessed of a great power at sea, could most effectually support them in case a war should break out against them. In short, they lost no time in despatching their ambassadors to the Athenians to propose an alliance, who were accompanied by embassies from the Eleans and Mantineans.

A Lacedæmonian embassy also arrived in great haste, composed of Philocharidas, and Leon, and Endius, persons who were judged most acceptable at Athens. They were afraid lest the Athenians, in the heat of their resentment, should

clap up an alliance with the Argives. They sent also by them a demand of the restitution of Pylus, in lieu of Panactum, and excuses for the separate alliance they had made with the Boeotians, "which had been concluded without any design of prejudicing the Athenians." Upon these points they spoke before the senate,* notifying at the same time

* The Lacedæmonian embassy have, on this occasion, their first audience from the senate. The business of this history has been hitherto transacted in the assembly of the people: for, as the generals of the state were the chief ministers in time of war, and had a power of convening the people at their own discretion, all points that required a speedy determination were brought before the people in the first instance; and the influence of the senate, which operated in ordinary occasions, was checked and suspended in time of war, which starts many extraordinary occasions, or left it in the will of the generals of the state to call and treat as extraordinary whatever they pleased. By these means the people had engrossed the power: the balance which Solon designed always to preserve was in a great measure lost, and the aristocratical influence was quite suspended.

As, therefore, the popular assembly had its note at first setting out, the form and constitution of the senate now require an explanation. At this time it consisted of five hundred persons, and for that reason is often styled the council of five hundred, and sometimes, by Thucydides, the council of the bean, from the manner of their election. Every year, on an appointed day, each tribe returned the names of their members who were qualified and stood candidates for this honour. The names were engraved on pieces of brass, and cast into a vessel; the same number of beans was cast into another vessel, fifty of which were white and the rest black. They then proceeded to draw out a name and a bean, and the persons to whom the white beans were drawn became the senators of the year. Each senator had a drachma, that is, seven pence three farthings, a day for his salary.

In the next place, the names of the tribes were thrown into a vessel, and into another nine black beans and one white one; the tribe to whose name the white bean was drawn took the first course of presidency for a tenth part of the year, and the order of the succeeding course was determined in the same manner by the bean. How the fifty in course were again subdivided into tens, and from these tens a chairman chosen for a day, has been already explained in the note on the popular assembly, Book I.

The senate sat every day in the prytaneum, or state-house, where the presidents had also their diet. They were the grand council of state; took into consideration all the affairs of the

that "they were come with full power to put an end to all disputes;" by which they gave some alarm to Alcibiades, lest, should they make the same declaration before the assembly of the people, it might have an influence upon the multitude, and an alliance with the Argives might prove abortive.

But Alcibiades now contrived to baffle them by art. He prevailed upon the Lacedæmonians, by solemnly pledging his faith to them, that "in case they would disown, before the people, the full powers with which they were invested, he would engage for the restitution of Pylus; for he himself would then persuade the Athenians to it with as much zeal as he now dissuaded, and would get all other points adjusted to their satisfaction." His view in acting thus was to detach them from Nicias, and to gain an opportunity of inveighing against them, in the assembly of the people, as men who had nothing sincere in their intentions, and whose professions were dissonant with themselves; and so to perfect an alliance with the Argives, and Eleans, and Mantineans. And this artifice in the sequel took effect: for, when they were admitted to an audience before the people, and replied to the demand, when put, contrary to what they had said in the senate, that "they had no such powers," the Athenians in an instant lost all patience. And now, Alcibiades roaring out aloud against the Lacedæmonians with much more vehemence than he had ever done before, they listened greedily to all he said, and were ready instantly to call in the Argives and their companions, and to make them confederates. But the shock of an earthquake being felt before any thing could be formally concluded, the assembly was adjourned.

At the next day's assembly Nicias, though the Lacedæ-

commonwealth; debated, and voted by beans; and whatever determinations were thus made in the senate were afterward carried down to the assembly of the people, to be ratified and passed into laws. By Solon's original constitution, nothing was to be proposed to the people before it had been canvassed and approved in the senate: but this seems to have been eluded by the generals of the state, who had all the military business in their department, and a power to convene the people at their pleasure, and lay matters before them in the first instance. To restore the aristocratical power, and reduce that of the people, occasioned a usurpation and sad confusion in Athens, as will be seen in the eighth book of this history.

monians had been thus overreached, and he himself inaspired by their public acknowledgment that they had no full powers, spoke, however, on the Lacedæmonian side, insisting "on the necessity of maintaining a good correspondence with them, and deferring all agreement with the Argives till they could send to the Lacedæmonians, and be distinctly informed of their final resolutions. It makes," said he, "for your credit, but for their disgrace, that a war should be averted: for as your affairs are in a happy posture, it is above all things eligible for you to preserve your prosperity unimpaired; but they, in their present low situation, should put all to hazard in the hopes of redress." He carried it, in short, that ambassadors should be despatched, he himself to be one in the commission, "earnestly to require of the Lacedæmonians, that, if their intentions were honest, they should surrender Panactum standing, and Amphipolis; and should, farther, renounce the alliance with the Bœotians, in case they still refused to accede to the peace: this in pursuance of the article, that 'neither should make peace without joint consent.' " They ordered it to be added, farther, that "they themselves, could they have deigned to act unjustly, had concluded before this an alliance with the Argives, as they were already attending and soliciting such a measure." And, having subjoined their instructions in relation to all other points in which they thought themselves aggrieved, they sent away the ambassadors in commission along with Nicias. These being arrived, and having reported their instructions, added, in conclusion, that "unless they would renounce their alliance with the Bœotians, if still refusing their accession to the peace, they would admit the Argives and their associates into league." The Lacedæmonians replied, "they would never renounce their alliance with the Bœotians:" for the party of Xenares, the ephorus, and all those who acted in the same combination, had still the majority: however, at the request of Nicias, they renewed the oaths. Nicias was afraid of being forced to depart without settling any one point of his commission, and of falling under public censure (which really came to pass), as undoubted author of the peace with the Lacedæmonians. And when, upon his return, the Athenians had heard that no one point was adjusted at Lacedæmon, they immediately conceived the warmest indignation; and, looking upon themselves as highly abused,

Alcibiades introducing the Argives and their associates, who were still at Athens, they entered into treaty, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, with them, as follows :—

“ The Athenians, and Argives, and Eleans, and Mantineans, for themselves and their respective dependants on all sides, have made a peace, to continue for the term of a hundred years, without fraud and without violence, both at land and at sea.

“ Be it unlawful to take up offensive arms, either by the Argives, and Eleans, and Mantineans, or their dependants, against the Athenians and dependants of the Athenians ; or by the Athenians and their dependants against the Argives, and Eleans, and Mantineans, and their dependants, without any artifice or evasion whatsoever. On these conditions the Athenians, and Argives, and Eleans, and Mantineans, to be confederates for one hundred years.

“ Provided that, in case an enemy invade the territory of the Athenians, the Argives, and Eleans, and Mantineans march to the succour of the Athenians, in strict conformity to a summons received from Athens, in the most vigorous manner they may be able, to the fulness of their abilities.

“ But if the enemy, after ravaging, be again withdrawn, the state under which they acted to be declared an enemy to the Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, and Athenians ; and to be pursued with the offensive arms of all those confederate states.

“ And farther, that it be not lawful for any of the contracting states to lay down their arms against that state which hath so offended, without the consent of all the rest.

“ The Athenians also to march to the succour of Argos, and Mantinea, and Elis, in case an enemy invade the territory of the Eleans, or that of the Mantineans, or that of the Argives, in strict conformity to a summons received from any of these states, in the most vigorous manner they may be able, to the fulness of their abilities.

“ But if the enemy, after ravaging, be again withdrawn, the state under which they acted to be declared an enemy to the Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, and to be pursued with the offensive arms of all these confederate states.

“ And farther, that it be not lawful to lay down their arms against the state which hath so offended, without the joint consent of all these contracting states.

"That no armed force be admitted to pass in order for war through any of their respective dominions, or those of their respective dependants, nor along their sea, unless such a passage be granted unanimously by all the contracting parties, by the Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans.

"Agreed, farther, that when the auxiliaries attend, the state which summoned them supply them with thirty days' provision so soon as they shall have entered the territory of the state which summoned their attendance, and the same at their departure.

"And, if there be occasion for the attendance of such an auxiliary force for a larger space, that the state which sent for it maintain that force, by paying to every soldier, heavy-armed and light-armed, and every archer, three oboli of Ægina* a day, and a drachma of Ægina to every horseman.

"But the state which sent for auxiliaries to have the supreme command, so long as the war continueth within its district.

"If, farther, it be agreed by the contracting states to act offensively with their united forces, the command then to be equally divided among all the states.

"That the Athenians swear to observe these articles in their own names and those of their dependants; but the Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, and the dependants of these, are to swear separately, each state for itself.

"Each party to take the oath in the most solemn fashion of their own country, in the most sacred manner, with the choicest victims. The terms of the oaths to be thus conceived: 'I will stand by the alliance, according to covenant, justly, honestly, and sincerely; and I will not transgress its obligation by any fraud or evasion whatsoever.'

"To be sworn—

"At Athens, by the senate and the city magistrates: the presidents in course to administer the oath.

"At Argos, by the senate, and the eighty, and the artynæ: the eighty to administer the oath.

"At Mantinea, by the demiurgi, and the senate, and the

* The value of three oboli of Ægina is about sixpence, and the drachma of Ægina nearly one shilling, English; for, according to Dr. Arbuthnot, the talent of Ægina consisted of a hundred Attic minæ, and, therefore, was larger than the Attic talent in the proportion of one hundred to sixty.

other magistrates : the theori and polemarchs to administer the oath.

"At Elis, by the demiurgi, and the officers of state, and the six hundred : the demiurgi and the keepers of the sacred records to administer the oath.

"These oaths to be renewed : for which purpose the Athenians to repair to Elis, to Mantinea, and to Argos, thirty days before the Olympic games. But the Argives, and Eleans, and Mantineans, are to repair to Athens, ten days before the great Panathenæa.

"The articles relating to this peace, and these oaths, and this alliance, to be inscribed on a column of stone,

"By the Athenians, in the citadel :

"By the Argives, in the forum, in the temple of Apollo :

"By the Mantineans, in the temple of Jupiter, in the forum : and

"All jointly to erect, by way of memorial, a brazen pillar at Olympia, at the Olympics now approaching.

"If it be judged expedient, by any of the contracting states, to make any additions to these articles already agreed, whatever, in pursuance of this, be deemed proper, by the joint determination of all parties, the same to be valid."

A peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, were in this manner concluded ; and those subsisting between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were not, upon this account, renounced by either side.

The Corinthians, however, who were confederates of the Argives, refused to accede ; but, what is more, they had never sworn to the alliance made previous to this between the Eleans, and Argives, and Mantineans, "to have the same foes and the same friends." They pretended that the defensive league already made was quite sufficient, "to succour one another, but not to concur in an offensive war." In this manner the Corinthians were drawing off from the league, and again warped in their inclinations towards the Lacedæmonians.

The Olympics were solemnized this summer, in which Androsthenes, the Arcadian, was for the first time victor in the Pancrace, and the Lacedæmonians were excluded the temple by the Eleans, so that they could neither sacrifice nor enter the lists. They had not discharged the fine set upon them by the Eleans, by virtue of the Olympic laws, who had

charged them with a conveyance of arms into the fort of Phyrcon, and with throwing some of their heavy-armed into Lepreum, during the Olympic cessation. The fine imposed was two thousand minæ,* at the rate of two minæ for every heavy-armed soldier, agreeably to the letter of the law.

The Lacedæmonians, upon this, despatched an embassy to remonstrate against the injustice of the sentence; that "the cessation had not been notified at Lacedæmon when they threw in their heavy-armed."

The Eleans replied, that "the cessation was already in force; for they proclaim it first among themselves; and so, while they were quiet, and expected no such usage, they had been wronged by a surprise."

The Lacedæmonians retorted, that, "if so, it was needless for them to proceed to a publication of it in Lacedæmon, if the Eleans had already judged themselves wronged. But the fact was far different in the light they saw it, and trespass had not been committed in any shape whatever."

But the Eleans adhered to their first charge, that "they could not be persuaded the Lacedæmonians had not wronged them; yet, in case they were willing to surrender Lepreum to them, they are ready to remit their share of the fine, and to pay for them that part of it which was due to the god."

But, when this would not content, it was urged again by the Eleans, that, "if they were unwilling to part with it, they should by no means surrender Lepreum; but then, as they were desirous to have the use of the temple, they must go up to the altar of Olympian Jupiter, and swear, in the presence of the Grecians, that they would hereafter pay the fine." But, as they also refused to comply with this, the Lacedæmonians were excluded the temple, the sacrifice, and the games, and performed their own sacrifices at home. Yet the rest of the Grecians, except the Lepreatæ, were admitted to assist at the solemnity.

The Eleans, however, apprehensive they would sacrifice by force, set a guard of their armed youths around the temple. These were re-enforced by the Argives and Mantineans, a thousand of each, and a party of Athenian horse who were at Argos in readiness to attend the festival. But a great consternation had seized the whole assembly of united Greece,

* 2000 minæ—6,458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

lest the Lacedæmonians should return with an armed force ; more especially when Lichas, the son of Archesilaus, a Lacedæmonian, was scourged in the course by the under officers, because, when his chariot had gained the prize, and the chariot of the Bœotian state was proclaimed victor, pursuant to the exclusion of the Lacedæmonians from the race, he stepped into the midst of the assembly and crowned the chariot-eer, desirous to make it known that the chariot belonged to him. Upon this the whole assembly was more than ever alarmed, and it was fully expected that some strange event would follow : the Lacedæmonians, however, made no bustle ; and the festival passed regularly through its train.

After the Olympics, the Argives and their confederates repaired to Corinth, in order to solicit the concurrence of that state. A Lacedæmonian embassy happened also to be there. Many conferences were held, and nothing finally determined : but, upon feeling the shock of an earthquake, they parted each to their respective cities. And here the summer ended.

In the ensuing winter a battle was fought by the Heracleots of Trachis against the Ænianians, and Dolopians, and Meliensians, and some of the Thessalians. For the bordering nations were enemies to the city of Heraclea, as this latter place had been fortified for their more especial annoyance. From its foundation they had ever opposed it, preventing its growth to the utmost of their power ; and at this time they defeated the Heracleots in a battle, in which Xenares, the son of Cnidis, the Lacedæmonian commandant, was slain ; a number also of the Heracleots perished. And thus the winter ended : and the twelfth year of the war came also to an end.

YEAR XIII.*

The succeeding summer was no sooner begun than the Bœotians, viewing the low estate to which it had been reduced by the late battle, took into their own hands the city of Heraclea, and discharged Hegesippidas, the Lacedæmonian commandant, as guilty of maleadministration. They took this city into their own hands, from the apprehension that, during the embroilments of the Lacedæmonians in Pelopon-

* Before Christ 419.

nessus, the Athenians might seize it. The Lacedæmonians, however, were chagrined at this step of the Boeotians.

This same summer also, Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, being general of the Athenians, with the concurrence of the Argives and their allies, entered Peloponnesus with a small party of heavy-armed Athenians and archers, and enlarged his forces upon his route by the aids of the confederates in those quarters; where he not only made such a disposition of affairs as might best answer the views of the alliance, but also, traversing Peloponnesus with his force, he both persuaded the Patreans to continue their works quite down to the sea, and intended also to execute a plan of his own for erecting a fort upon the Rhium of Achaia.* But the Corinthians and Sicyonians, and all such as were alarmed at the annoyance this fort might give them, rushed out to prevent him, and obliged him to desist.

The same summer a war broke out between the Epidaurians and the Argives. The pretext was grounded on a victim due from the Epidaurians to the Pythian Apollo, as an acknowledgment for their pastures; for the Argives were now the chief managers of the temple. But, this pretended grievance set apart, it had been judged expedient, by Alcibiades and the Argives, to get possession, if possible, of Epidaurus, in order to prevent molestation on the side of Corinth, and to render the passage of Athenian succours more expeditious from Ægina than by fetching a compass about Scylæum. The Argives, therefore, were intent on their preparations, as resolved to take the field and act against Epidaurus, in order to exact the victim by force of arms.

But, about the same time, the Lacedæmonians also marched out, with their whole force, as far as to Leuctra, upon their own frontier, towards Lyceum, under the command of Agis, the son of Archidamus, their king. Not a man was privy to the design of their thus taking the field, not even the states from which the quotas were furnished out. But, when the victims they sacrificed for, a successful campaign proved inauspicious, they again marched home, and circulated fresh

* This was a grand project indeed! It aimed at no less than the total ruin of Corinth, and putting an end to all the navigation of that trading and opulent city through the Bay of Crissa. The Athenians were already entire masters of the sea on the other side of the isthmus.

orders to their confederates to be ready to take the field again after the next month, which was the month Carneius,* the grand festival of the Dorians. But, when they were thus withdrawn, the Argives, taking the field on the twenty-seventh day of the month preceding Carneius, and though celebrating their own festival that very day, continued all this intermediate time to make incursions and ravages upon Epidauria. The Epidaurians sent about to solicit the succours of their allies; some of whom excused themselves as bound to observe the approaching festivals, though others advanced as far as the frontiers of Epidauria, and then refused to act. And, during the space of time that the Argives were in Epidauria, embassies from the several states held a congress at Mantinea, at the request of the Athenians; and, proceeding to a conference, Ephamidas, the Corinthian, remonstrated, that "their words were by no means consistent with their actions; for while they were here sitting together upon the terms of peace, the Epidaurians and allies, and the Argives, were opposing one another in arms: that, consequently, the first thing to be done was to send deputations on both sides to disband those armies, and then orderly to proceed to treat of peace." Yielding, therefore, to the justice of such a remonstrance, they fetched the Argives out of Epidauria; and, returning to the congress, they were not able even then to agree together: upon which the Argives once more entered Epidauria, and resumed the ravage.

The Lacedæmonians now had taken the field, and were advanced to Caryæ; but, as now again the victims sacrificed portended no success to a campaign, they once more withdrew.

The Argives also, after ruining about a third of the terri-

* This festival was observed by most cities in Greece; but with the greatest pomp and solemnity at Sparta, where it began the thirteenth of the month Carneius, according to the Lacedæmonian style, and lasted nine days. A camp was formed for its celebration, in which they continued during the whole solemnity, and observed strict military discipline. By these means, as we find a little lower, the Argives, in this instance no slaves to superstition, attended to the festival and warfare at the same time, and annoyed the Epidaurians, while religious awe restrained the friends of the latter from acting in their defence. —See *Potter's Archæologia*, vol. i., p. 408.

tory of Epidauria, were returned home. In this incursion they were assisted by one thousand heavy-armed Athenians, with Alcibiades at their head; who, having heard that the Lacedæmonians had now left the field, as their service was now no longer needful, marched away. And in this manner the summer passed.

In the beginning of the next winter the Lacedæmonians, unknown to the Athenians, threw a body of men, to the number of three hundred, with Hegesippidas as commandant, into Epidaurus by sea. Upon this the Argives repaired instantly to Athens, with remonstrances, that, "though it was explicitly mentioned in the treaty that no enemy should be suffered to pass through their respective dominions, yet they had permitted the Lacedæmonians to make this passage by sea without molestation.* Unless, therefore, they would replace the Messenians and Helots in Pylus, to annoy the Lacedæmonians, they should deem themselves aggrieved." Upon this the Athenians, at the instigation of Alcibiades, underwrote this charge upon the Laconic column, that "the Lacedæmonians were guilty of perjury;" and removed the Helots from Crania into Pylus, to resume their depredations, but refrained from any other act of hostility.

In the course of this winter, though the Argives and Epidaurians were at war, yet no regular battle was fought between them. The hostilities consisted of ambuscades and skirmishes, in which, according to the chance of action, some persons perished on both sides.

But in the close of winter, when the spring was now approaching, the Argives, provided with ladders for scaling, came under Epidaurus, hoping to take it by surprise, as insufficiently manned by reason of the war; but, failing of success, they soon withdrew. And then the winter ended, and with it ended also the thirteenth year of the war.

YEAR XIV.†

About the middle of the ensuing summer, when their confederates, the Epidaurians, were sadly distressed, when some

* The Argives, in this remonstrance, acknowledged the dominion of the sea, even on the coast of Peloponnesus, to belong to Athens.

† Before Christ 418.

of the Peloponnesians had already revolted, and others showed plainly a spirit of discontent, the Lacedæmonians were clearly convinced that, unless expeditiously prevented, the mischief would spread abroad. Upon this they took the field against Argos with their whole force, both themselves and their Helots; and Agis, the son of Archidamus, King of the Lacedæmonians, commanded in chief. They were attended in the field by the Tegeatæ, and all the other Arcadians whatever confederated with the Lacedæmonians. But the allies of the other parts of Peloponnesus, and those without the isthmus, were assembled at Phlius:—the Bœotians, consisting of five thousand heavy-armed, and the same number of light-armed; five hundred horsemen, each attended by a soldier on foot;—the Corinthians, of two thousand heavy-armed;—the other confederates with their several quotas;—but the Phliasians with the whole of their force, because the army was assembled in their district.

The Argives, who had some time before intelligence of the Lacedæmonian preparations, and that since they were filing towards Phlius in order to join the forces assembled there, now took the field themselves. They were joined by a succour of the Mantineans, strengthened by the addition of their dependants, and three thousand heavy-armed Eleans. Upon their march they fell in with the Lacedæmonians at Methydrium of Arcadia. Each party posted itself upon a rising ground. The Argives got every thing in readiness to attack the Lacedæmonians while yet they were alone; but Agis, dislodging by night and stealing a march, completed his junction with the body of confederates at Phlius. When this was perceived by the Argives, they drew off early the next dawn, first of all to Argos, and then to the pass on the route of Nemea, by which they expected the Lacedæmonians, with their confederates, would fall into their country. Yet Agis took not that route which they expected; but, having communicated his design to the Lacedæmonians, and Arcadians, and Epidaurians, he took a different route, though much less practicable, and descended into the plains of Argos. The Corinthians, and Pellenians, and Phliasians, followed by another more direct route; and orders had been given to the Bœotians, and Megareans, and Sicyonians, to take the route which leads to Nemea, on which the Argives were posted, that, in case the Argives should march into the plain

to make head against the Lacedæmonians, the last with their cavalry might press upon their rear.

After these dispositions, and such a descent into the plain, Agis ravaged Saminthus and other places; upon intelligence of which, the Argives, so soon as it was day, dislodged from Nemea to stop the depredations, and on their march met with a body of Phliasians and Corinthians; and, encountering, slew some few of the Phliasians, while not a much greater number of their own men were destroyed by the Corinthians. The Bœotians also, and Megareans, and Sicyonians, took the route of Nemea conformably to orders, and found the Argives already dislodged; but the latter, upon entering the plain, and in view of the ravage made upon their lands, drew up in order of battle. The Lacedæmonians stood regularly drawn up on the other side. And now the Argives were shut up in the middle of their enemies: for, on the side of the plain, the Lacedæmonians, and those in their body, intercepted their return to the city; on the high ground above them were the Corinthians, and Phliasians, and Pellenians; on the other part, towards Nemea, were the Bœotians, and Sicyonians, and Megareans. Cavalry they had none: for the Athenians were the only part of their confederacy who were not yet come up.

The bulk, indeed, of the Argives and confederates apprehended not the danger which at present environed them to be so great; but rather concluded they might engage with advantage, and that they had caught the Lacedæmonians fast within their territory, and near to Argos itself. Two Argives, however,—Thrasylus, one of the five in command, and Alciphron, the public host of the Lacedæmonians,—the very instant the armies were moving to the charge, had addressed themselves to Agis, and proposed expedients to prevent a battle, giving their word that “the Argives were ready to do and to submit to justice, upon a fair and equitable arbitration, in case the Lacedæmonians had any charge against them; and for the future would live at peace, if a present accommodation could be effected.”

In this manner these Argives presumed to talk, merely of themselves, and without the public authority. Agis also, by his own private determination, accepted the proposals; and, without reporting them to the council of war, without canvassing things maturely himself, or at least communicating

only with one person of the number which had authority in the army, granted them a four months' truce, "in which space they were to make good what engagements they had now made;" and then instantly drew off the army, without imparting the reasons of his conduct to the other confederates. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, and confederates, followed when he led them off, because their laws exacted such obedience; yet, among themselves, were lavish of their censure against Agis, that, when so fine an opportunity of engaging was in their power, when their enemies were hemmed in on all sides, both by their horse and their foot, they were drawn off, without performing any thing worthy of such mighty preparations; for, to this very day, a finer army of Grecians had never appeared in the field. A most gallant figure, in truth, it made, while they were all together at Nemea. The Lacedæmonians were there to be seen with the whole collected force of their state, accompanied by the Arcadians, and Bœotians, and Corinthians, and Sicyonians, and Pellenians, and Phliasians, and Megareans. The troops which composed their several quotas were all picked men, and were judged a match in the field of battle, not only for the whole Argive alliance, but the addition of double strength. This great army, however, laying all the time most heavy imputations on the conduct of Agis, drew off, and were disbanded to their several habitations.

On the other part also, the Argives were still much more exasperated against those who had made this suspension without public authority. They imagined the Lacedæmonians had escaped them when they had the finest opportunity of striking a blow, inasmuch as the contest must have been decided under the very walls of Argos, and in company with a numerous and gallant alliance. And hence, upon their return, at the Charadrum, the place where the crimes committed in an expedition are adjudged, before they enter the city, they were beginning to stone Thrasyllus, who, flying to an altar, escaped with life: his effects, however, they confiscated to public use.

But, after this, came up the Athenian succour, consisting of a thousand heavy-armed and three hundred horsemen, commanded by Laches and Nicostratus. The Argives, who, after all, were afraid to break the agreement with the Lacedæmonians, ordered "them to be gone forthwith;" and, though they

requested a conference, refused to introduce them into the assembly of the people till the Mantineans and Eleans, who were not yet departed, by great importunity obtained a compliance. Here the Athenians,* in the presence of Alcibiades their ambassador, assembled with the Argives and their allies, averred, that "the suspension was not valid, since agreed to without the consent of the body of the confederates; now, therefore, as themselves were come up opportunely to their assistance, they were obliged in honour to prosecute the war." The confederates allowed the force of this argument: and the whole alliance, except the Argives, marched instantly away against Orchomenus of Arcadia. But even the Argives, though they stayed behind at first, were persuaded by such reasoning, and soon after went also to take part in the expedition. Thus united, they sat down before and besieged Orchomenus. They made several assaults upon it, desirous for other reasons to get it into their hands, but more particularly because the hostages from Arcadia were lodged in that city by the Lacedæmonians.

The Orchomenians, terrified at the weakness of their walls and the multitude of their besiegers, and lest, as no relief appeared, they should soon be exhausted, thought proper to capitulate on these conditions:—"to be received into the confederacy; to give hostages of their own body; and to deliver up to the Mantineans those whom the Lacedæmonians had lodged with them."

Having thus got possession of Orchomenus, the confederates, in the next place, held a consultation "against what other city, in their plan of conquest, they should next proceed." The Eleans exhorted them to march against Lepreum, but the Mantineans against Tegea; and the Argives and Athenians adhered to the Mantineans. The Eleans, upon this, were offended that they had not voted for the siege of Lepreum, and separated to their own home. But the rest of the confederates set about preparations at Mantinea, as fully bent on the siege of Tegea; and even some of the citizens of Tegea were exerting their efforts within that city to betray it to them.

But the Lacedæmonians, after they were withdrawn from Argos, in pursuance of the suspension of arms for four months,

* Laches and Nicostratus.

laid heavy charges upon Agis, for not conquering Argos at so fair an opportunity, fairer than ever they had reason to expect, "since so numerous and so gallant a body of confederates could never again, without greater difficulty, be assembled together." And when afterward the news arrived that Orchomenus was taken, their indignation became more violent than ever. In such a ferment, they instantly resolved, though not consistently with the calm Lacedæmonian temper, that "his house must needs be demolished, and a fine of one hundred thousand drachmas* be imposed upon Agis." He earnestly pleaded against the execution of the sentence, that, "in another expedition, he would purge the charge by some notable service to the state; if not, they might then proceed to punish him at pleasure." Upon this they suspended the fine and demolition, but passed a law upon the present occasion, such as never before had been made among them; for they elected a committee of ten Spartans to attend him as a council, without whose concurrence he was not permitted to lead out their army into the field.

In the meantime a message is brought them from their friends at Tegea, that "unless they come thither with the utmost expedition, Tegea will revolt from them to the Argives and their confederates, and is only not revolted already."

To prevent this, the whole Lacedæmonian strength, both of citizens and Helots, is levied with more sharpness than had ever been known before; and, taking the field, they marched to Oresteum of Menalia. An order was sent beforehand to their Arcadian allies, to assemble and follow them directly towards Tegea.

But when the whole of the Lacedæmonian strength was thus marched to Oresteum, the sixth part of the number, consisting of the more aged and younger classes, was from thence again dismissed to Sparta, to take upon them the guard of that place, while the rest of their military force marched to Tegea; and, not long after, their Arcadian confederates join them.

They sent also to Corinth, to the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, a summons of speedy aid into the Mantinean: but for some of these the summons was too short; and for the rest, it was by no means an easy task to take the field

* 3229*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. sterling.

in separate bodies, and, waiting for their mutual junction, to force their passage through an enemy's country; for such lay between to obstruct their advance: however, they were earnestly bent to attempt it. The Lacedæmonians, in the meantime, enlarged with such Arcadian parties as were already come up, marched on and broke into the Mantinean; and, having formed their camp near the temple of Hercules, they ravaged the country.

The Argives and their allies, when their enemies were thus in sight, having posted themselves on a spot of ground by nature strong and difficult of approach, drew up in order, as ready to engage. The Lacedæmonians also immediately advanced towards them, and even approached so near as within the cast of a stone or a dart. But one of the old experienced Spartans, perceiving that they were to attack so difficult a post, roared out aloud to Agis,* that "he was going to repair one evil by another," as if, by his present ill-judged eagerness, he was bent on making reparation for his censured retreat from Argos. Upon this, either struck with such an exclamation, or whether upon a sudden his own thoughts suggested to him a different conduct, he drew off his army again with all possible expedition, before the battle could be joined; and, wheeling from thence into the Tegeatis, he turned a stream of water into the Mantinean, about which, as apt to do great damage to the lands on which side-soever it flowed, the Mantineans and Tegeatæ are eternally at blows. It was his scheme to draw down the Argives and their allies from their strong post on the eminence, in order to prevent the turning of this stream, so soon as they knew it was in agitation, and thus to gain an opportunity of fighting in the plain. In pursuance of this, he halted the whole day upon the stream, and accomplished its diversion. But the Argives and their allies, surprised at this sudden and precipitate retreat, had been at first unable to conjecture what it meant. At length, when the enemy was totally withdrawn

* Plutarch says it was an apothegm of this Agis, that Lacedæmonians never asked concerning their enemies, "How many are they?" but, "Where are they?" And that, when he was hindered from fighting at Mantinea, he said, "They who would rule over many must fight against many:" and, being asked what was the number of the Lacedæmonians, he replied, "Enough to beat cowards."

and quite out of their view, after lying inactive in their posts, and no orders received for a pursuit, they began a second time to lay heavy imputations on their own commanders ; —that, “ on the former occasion, the Lacedæmonians, when fairly caught near Argos, had been suffered to escape ; that now again, though they were openly flying, not a soul must pursue them, but, through shameful indolence, their enemies are preserved, and themselves are treacherously betrayed.” The commanders, upon the first noise of these clamours, were highly chagrined ; but afterward they marched them down from the eminence, and, advancing into the plain, encamped them there, as determined to fight the enemy. The day following, the Argives and allies were drawn up to be in readiness for action should the enemy appear. And the Lacedæmonians, marching away from the stream to reoccupy their former camp near the temple of Hercules, on a sudden perceived that the whole body of their foes were ready drawn up in order of battle, and had quitted their strong post on the eminence.

At this crisis the Lacedæmonians were struck with a greater astonishment than the memory of man could parallel. For now, in an interval of time exceeding short, they were bound to get every thing in readiness for fight : yet, such was their diligence, that in an instant they were formed into a beautiful array, Agis, their king, issuing all the necessary orders, according to law ; for, when a king leads their armies, all orders are given by him : he himself declares what he wills to be done to the general officers ; * they carry his orders to the colonels ; † these to the captains ; ‡ who afterward forward them to the subalterns ; § by whom they are communicated to all the private men under their respective commands. The orders, when any such are requisite, are in this method dispersed and circulated with the greatest expedition : for, in the Lacedæmonian armies, almost the whole soldiery, few only excepted, have a command assigned in regular subordination ; and the care of executing orders is incumbent upon numbers.

In their present array the left wing consisted of the Skiritæ, who, of all the Lacedæmonians, ever claim this post as their

* Polemarchs.

† Pentecontators.

‡ Lochages.

§ Enomatarchæ.

peculiar right ; next them were posted the Brasidean soldiers who had served in Thrace, accompanied by those who had lately been honoured with the freedom of Sparta ; then, along the line, were regularly posted all the troops which were composed of pure Lacedæmonians ; next to them stood the He-reans of Arcadia, and beyond them the Mænaliens. In the right wing were the Tegeatæ, but in the utmost extent of it some few Lacedæmonians. Their cavalry was equally posted on both the wings : and in this form was the Lacedæmonian disposition made.

On the side of the enemy the Mantineans had the right wing, because the business fell upon their ground ; next to them were the allies from Arcadia ; then a picked body of Argives, to the number of a thousand, who long had been exercised in the study of arms at the public school at Argos ; and next to them stood the rest of the Argive forces : these were followed by their own confederates, the Cleoneans and Orneatæ. The Athenians were ranged in the outermost body, and composed the left wing, supported by their own cavalry. Such was the order and disposition on both sides.

The army of the Lacedæmonians had the appearance of superior numbers : but exactly to write the number, either of the several bodies on each side, or of their whole force, I own myself unable. The amount of the Lacedæmonians was not known, because of the profound secrecy observed in their polity ; and the amount of their enemies, because of the ostentation ordinary to mankind in magnifying their own strength, has been still disbelieved. However, from the following computation, an inquirer may discover the number of the Lacedæmonians who on this occasion were drawn up in the field.

Besides the Skiritæ, who were in number six hundred, seven battalions were in this engagement. Now in every battalion there were four companies ; and in every company four platoons ; in the first rank of every platoon were four fighting soldiers. In regard to depth they were not equally formed, as every colonel determined the depth at his own private discretion ; but generally they were drawn up eight deep. The front line of their whole force, excepting the Skiritæ, consisted of four hundred and forty-eight men.*

* The Lacedæmonian *mora*, or brigade, consisted of four *lochi*

When both sides were ready, the small respite before the engagement was employed by the several commanders in animating the soldiers under their respective orders.

To the Mantineans it was urged, that "the points for which they were going to fight were their country and their future fate, either rule or slavery; that of rule, whose sweets they had known, they might not be divested, and that they might never feel again what slavery is."

To the Argives, it was "for their ancient sovereignty, and the equal share of dignity they had once enjoyed in Peloponnesus, now timely to prevent an eternal submission to such losses, and earn revenge for the many injuries a neighbouring state, unrelenting in its enmity, had done them."

But to the Athenians, that "in honour they were obliged to signalize their valour in a conspicuous manner, in the company of numerous and gallant allies: that should they gain a victory over the Lacedæmonians on Peloponnesian ground, their own empire would be established and enlarged, and no enemy would ever again presume to invade their territories."

And in this manner were the Argives and their confederates animated to the fight.

But the Lacedæmonians were encouraging one another, and, during martial strains enjoined by their discipline, like men of bravery as they were, each animated his neighbour with the recital of the gallant acts they had performed together. They were persons who knew that a long experience in the toils of war conduced more to preservation than a short verbal harangue, how finely soever delivered.

or battalions, equal to 2048 men: for a *lochos*, or battalion, consisted of four *pentecosties*, or companies, equal to 512 men; a *pentecosty*, or company, of four *enomatia*, or platoons, equal to 128 men; and each *enomatia*, or platoon, consisted of 32. This is the account of Thucydides, who computes the platoon by 4 in front and 8 in depth. The platoon consisted therefore of 32; which, multiplied by 4, is equal to 128, the number of a company; which, also multiplied by 4, is equal to 512, the number of a battalion. The number of battalions was seven, which shows the number of Lacedæmonians to have been 3584; and then, with the addition of 600 *Skiritæ*, who were posted on the left, to have amounted, in the whole, to 4184 men. Or again, the whole front line is equal to 448, multiplied by 8, the number in depth, is equal to 3584, added to 600 *Skiritæ*, is equal to 4184.

And now the armies were mutually approaching : the Argives and their allies advanced in a brisk and angry manner ; but the Lacedæmonians moved slowly forwards to the sound of many flutes, the music which their laws ordain, not from any religious motive, but for advancing with equal steps, keeping time with the notes, to prevent all disorders in the ranks ; accidents very frequent in large armies while drawing to an encounter.*

But, during the approach, Agis, the king, bethought himself of making a new disposition. It is the constant case with all armies, that, upon the right, their wings, while they approach one another, extend themselves too far, so that constantly, on both sides, the left wing is overreached and flanked by the enemy's right. This proceeds from the dread every soldier lies under of being exposed on his unarmed side, which makes him eager to get it covered by the shield of the next person on his right, and positive that a firm closing together in this manner will render them impenetrable to the shock of the enemy. This turn of the body is first

* Milton has made use of this Lacedæmonian march to adorn and raise his own noble poetry. It was full and strong in his imagination when he wrote the following lines.—*Paradise Lost* Book I.

“Anon they move

In perfect phalanx; to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders ; such as raised
To height of noblest temper heroes old,
Arming to battle ; and, instead of rage,
Deliberate valour breathed, firm and unmoved,
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat ;
Nor wanting power to mitigate and suage,
With solemn touches, troubled thoughts, and chase
Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain,
From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they,
Breathing united force, with fixed thought,
Moved on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd
Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil ; And now,
Advanced in view, they stand, a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield,
Awaiting what command their mighty chief
Had to impose. He through the armed files
Darts his experienced eye ; and soon, traverse
The whole battalion, views their order due.”

begun by the right-hand man of the whole front, and is the result of his constant care to shift his defenceless side from the aim of the foe ; and the dread of being in the same manner exposed obliges all the rest to follow his motion. And thus, in the present approach, the Mantineans in their wing had far overreached the Skiritæ : but the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ had done so, more in regard to the Athenians, in proportion as they exceeded them in numbers. Agis, therefore, fearing lest the left wing of the Lacedæmonians might be quite surrounded, and judging that the Mantineans quite too far overreached them, sent orders to the Skiritæ and Brasideans to wheel away from the spot where they were first posted, and fill up the extremity of the line, so as to render it equal to the Mantineans ; and, to supply the void thus made, he ordered from the right wing two battalions, commanded by general officers, Hipponoidas and Aristocles, to repair thither, and, falling in, to close up the ranks ; judging that their own right would still be more than sufficient to execute their parts, and the wing opposed to the Mantineans might, by this disposition, be properly strengthened. But, as he issued these orders in the very onset and close of battle, it happened that Aristocles and Hipponoidas absolutely refused to change their post, though for such disobedience, as apparently the result of cowardice, they were afterward banished from Sparta ; and, before the new disposition could be completed, the enemy had begun to charge. Upon the refusal of these two battalions to change their post, Agis countermanded those marching to strengthen the Skiritæ to their former places, who now were, unable to fall into the ranks, or close together with those whom they had quitted : but on this occasion, more remarkably than ever, the Lacedæmonians, though in all respects outdone in the military art, gave signal proofs of their superiority in true manly valour.

For, to come to particulars, when once they were at blows with the enemy, the right wing of the Mantineans routed the Skiritæ and Brasideans. Then the same Mantineans, supported by their confederates and the thousand picked Argives, falling in at the void in the Lacedæmonian line, which was not yet filled up, did great execution upon them ; for, taking them in flank, they entirely broke them, drove them for shelter among their carriages, and made a slaughter of the

old men who were appointed for their guard. And in this quarter the Lacedæmonians were clearly vanquished.

But in the other quarters, and especially in the centre, where Agis the king was posted, and round him the horse-guards, styled the three hundred, falling upon those troops which were composed of the elder Argives, and those which are called the pentelochi, and upon the Cleoneans, and Orneatæ, and those Athenians who ranked along with them, they broke them in an instant, so that many of them durst not stand to exchange a blow, but, so soon as they felt the Lacedæmonian shock, turned about at once, and others were trampled under foot in the great hurry they were in to secure their escape.

But when the main body of the Argives and their allies was in this quarter routed, their foot on both the flanks were instantly discomfited. Now, also, the right of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, by the advantage of superior numbers, had overreached and encompassed the Athenians. These now, on all hands, were beset with danger; in this quarter they were surrounded by their enemies, in another they were already vanquished; and they must have suffered the most of any part of the army, had it not been for the excellent support their own cavalry gave them. It happened also that Agis, when he perceived that the Mantineans and the thousand Argives had got the better on the left, commanded the whole army to wheel off to the support of the vanquished. And while this was executing, the Athenians laid hold of the interval which this motion of the enemy and their drawing off from around them occasioned, to secure their own escape without any opposition, accompanied by the Argives, who were also vanquished with them.

But the Mantineans, and those who fought in company with them, and the picked band of Argives, were now no longer intent on pressing upon their adversaries; but, perceiving their own side to be completely vanquished, and the Lacedæmonians approaching to their attack, they turned about and fled. Yet numbers of them perished, and those chiefly Mantineans; for the greatest part of the picked band of Argives completed their escape.

The flight, however, was not precipitate, nor the distance to a place of safety great: for the Lacedæmonians, till the en-

empty, flies, maintain their combats with long and steady toil; but, after a rout, pursue them neither long nor far.

And thus, or very nearly thus, was the procedure of the whole battle, the greatest that for many ages had been fought among Grecians, and where the competition lay between most renowned and flourishing states. The Lacedæmonians, amassing together the arms of their enemies who had been slain, immediately erected a trophy, and rifled the bodies of the dead. They also took up their own dead, and carried them to Tegea, where they received the rites of sepulture; and also delivered, upon truce, the slain of their enemy. There fell of the Argives, and Orneatæ, and Cleoneans, seven hundred; and two hundred of the Mantineans; two hundred also of the Athenians, including the Æginetæ and their several commanders. On the Lacedæmonian side, as the confederates were never hard pressed, what loss they suffered is scarcely deserving of notice; and the exact number of their own dead it is difficult to discover, but it was reported to have been about three hundred.

When a battle was certainly to be fought, Pleistoanax, the other king, marched out to their support, with the whole body of citizens, both old men and youths. But when he was advanced as far as Tegea, he received the news of a victory, and returned to Sparta. The Lacedæmonians also sent messengers to countermand their allies from Corinth, and from without the isthmus. And, being themselves returned to Sparta, after giving dismission to their allies, as the Carneian solemnities were at hand, they celebrated the festival. The imputation also of cowardice, at that time laid to their charge by the rest of Greece, because of their misfortune at Sphacteria, and some other instances of impolitic and dilatory conduct, by this one action they completely purged away. Now it was determined that their depression had been merely the result of fortune, but that in inward bravery they were still themselves.

The day before this battle was fought it happened that the Epidaurians, with the whole of their strength, had made an incursion into Argia, as left defenceless, and had done great execution on the guards left behind at the general march of the Argives.

Three thousand heavy-armed Eleans, as auxiliaries to the Mantineans, came up after the battle; as did also a thousand

Athenians to join the former body, upon which the whole alliance marched immediately against Epidaurus, while the Lacedæmonians were solemnizing the Carneian festival. After an equal distribution of the work, they began to raise a circumvallation around that city. The rest, indeed, soon desisted; but the Athenians, conformably to their orders, completed theirs round the eminence on which stood the temple of Juno. To guard this work, the whole alliance left behind a sufficient number draughted from their several bodies, and then departed to their respective homes. And the summer was now at an end.

In the first commencement of the succeeding winter, and after the celebration of the Carneian festival, the Lacedæmonians immediately took the field; and, advancing as far as Tegea, sent from thence to Argos proposals for an accommodation. There was already in that city a party in their intelligence, who were also bent on overturning the popular government at Argos; and, since the event of the late fatal battle, they were enabled to use more cogent arguments to persuade the many into the accommodation. Their scheme was, first to enter into truce with the Lacedæmonians, as preparatory to an alliance, offensive and defensive, which was next in agitation; and, this point carried, then immediately to execute their plot against the people.

Lichas, son of Arcesilaus, the public host of the Argives, accordingly arrived at Argos, charged to make two demands in the name of the Lacedæmonians; the one, "whether war be still their option?" the other, "how if their choice be peace?" Upon this a strong debate arose, for Alcibiades was present. But the party who acted in the Lacedæmonian interest prevailed with the Argives to accept their proposals of an accommodation, which were as follows:—

"Thus resolved by the Lacedæmonian council to compound with the Argives.

"These to restore their children to the Orchomenians, and their men to the Mænalians; to restore also to the Lacedæmonians their citizens now detained at Mantinea; to evacuate Epidaurus and demolish their works.

"And the Athenians, if they will not quit Epidaurus, to be declared enemies to the Argives and to the Lacedæmonians, and to the confederates of the Lacedæmonians, and to the confederates of the Argives.

"And, if the Lacedæmonians have in their power any young men, to release them to all the states.

"In relation to the god,* we consent that an oath be administered to the Epidaurians, and we grant the form to be prescribed by the Argives.

"The states of Peloponnesus, both small and great, to be, none excepted, free, according to their own primitive constitutions.

"And, if any state without Peloponnesus shall enter offensively into the lands of Peloponnesus, succours to be united, in pursuance of a general consultation of Peloponnesians about the determinate and most expedient methods.

"All confederates of the Lacedæmonians whatever, without Peloponnesus, shall enjoy the same privileges as those of the Lacedæmonians and those of the Argives enjoy, each remaining in free possession of their territories.

"These articles to be communicated to the confederates, and ratification to be made, if they approve. If different methods seem advisable to the confederates, all parties to desist and return directly home."

These proposals, by way of preliminary, the Argives accepted; and the army of the Lacedæmonians was drawn off from Tegea to their own home. And afterward, in the course of mutual negotiation, the same party at Argos prevailed upon their countrymen to renounce their alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, and even with the Athenians, and to strike up a peace and an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Lacedæmonians. The tenour of it was this:—

"Resolved thus, by the Lacedæmonians and the Argives, on a peace and an alliance, offensive and defensive, for the term of fifty years.

"They shall do justice to each other reciprocally, with impartiality and equity, according to their several forms of law.

"The other states in Peloponnesus, comprehended in this peace and alliance, shall continue in the enjoyment of their own laws, their own independence, holding the same territories, doing justice with impartiality and equity, according to their several forms of law.

* The Pythian Apollo. This article seems designed to adjust the quarrel about the victim, related in the transactions of the last year.

"All confederates of the Lacedæmonians whatever, without Peloponnesus, shall enjoy the same privileges with the Lacedæmonians themselves; and the Argive confederates shall enjoy the same with the Argives themselves; each holding their respective territories.

"If a joint expedition be at any time requisite, a consultation to be held, by the Lacedæmonians and the Argives, about the determinate and most expedient methods of issuing orders to the rest of the alliance.

"But, if any controversy arise between the states, either those within or those without Peloponnesus, either concerning their boundaries or any other point, it shall be determined by judges.

"And, if any confederate state have a dispute with another state, they shall go with a reference to that state which to the contending states shall be thought most impartial. Private persons, however, to be judged by the laws of that state to which they are subject."

This peace and such an alliance were now perfected, and the reciprocal damages of war and all other offences were now buried in oblivion: and, having already settled all points to general satisfaction, they concurred in a suffrage "to receive no herald nor embassy from the Athenians till they were withdrawn out of Peloponnesus, and had given up their fortifications at Epidaurus;" and farther, "for the future, to make neither peace nor war but with joint concurrence." Their attention was also extended to objects more remote; and in conjunction they despatched ambassadors to the cities in Thrace and to Perdiccas, and seduced Perdiccas to swear adherence to their league: not that he instantly declared his revolt from the Athenians, but he was bent on accomplishing it ever since he saw the Argives had done it; for he was originally descended from Argos. They renewed also their ancient oaths to the Chalcideans, and strengthened them by the addition of new.

The Argives also despatched an embassy to the Athenians, requiring them to quit the works they had raised at Epidaurus. The latter, sensible that their soldiers were but a handful of men when compared with those who were associated with them in that service, sent Demosthenes to draw them off. He, upon his arrival, pretending to solemnize some martial game without the fortress, when the rest of the gar-

rison was gone out to the spectacle, barred fast the gates. And afterward the Athenians, having renewed the peace with them, surrendered the fortifications they had raised into the hands of the Epidaurians.

When the Argives had in this manner gone off from the alliance, the Mantineans also, who at first stood out, finding at length that without the Argives they could do nothing of themselves, thought proper to accommodate their disputes with the Lacedæmonians, and resigned their command over the cities of Arcadia. The Lacedæmonians also and Argives, to the number of a thousand each, marched in company to Sicyon; where, principally by the presence of the Lacedæmonians, the government was shifted into the hands of a smaller number. And, after transacting such points in concert, they soon procured the demolition of the popular government at Argos; and an oligarchy, suited to the Lacedæmonian model, was erected in its stead.

As the winter was now in its close, these transactions ran out nearly into the spring; and the fourteenth year of the war expired.

YEAR XV.*

In the following summer the Dictideans of Athos revolted from the Athenians to the Chalcideans; and the Lacedæmonians resettled the state of Achaia, which for a time had been under a management not agreeable to them.

The people of Argos also, combining gradually together and resuming their spirits, made an assault upon the few. They waited for a favourable opportunity, till the festival of the naked games was celebrating at Lacedæmon. A battle was fought within the precincts of Argos, in which the people were the victors; some of their opponents they slew, and others they doomed to perpetual exile. The Lacedæmonians, when their adherents implored their succour, were too dilatory in moving; but at last they adjourned the games, and marched away to their support; and hearing, when they were come to Tegea, that "the few were vanquished," they determined to proceed no farther, maugre all the entreaties of the new exiles; but, retreating forthwith to Sparta, they resumed the celebration of the games. Yet, being afterward attended by deputations from those in Argos, as well as by

* Before Christ 417.

such as had been lately banished, in the presence of the whole confederacy, after many arguments had been urged on both sides, they came to a resolution that "the Argives in the city were guilty of injustice;" and a decree was passed that "they should march against Argos;" but, after all, their proceedings are dilatory and remiss.

In the meantime, the people of Argos, dreading the Lacedæmonian strength, and readdressing themselves again to Athens for a renewal of alliance, and proceeding to execute a plan which they thought the strongest expedient of preservation, built long walls quite down to the sea, that, in case they should be blocked up by land, all proper supplies might be thrown into the city by sea, through the good offices of the Athenians. To this scheme of new fortifications some cities also of Peloponnesus were privy underhand. The whole body of the Argives without distinction, the citizens, their wives, and their servants, forwarded the work; and from Athens they were supplied with carpenters and masons. And here the summer ended.

Winter now succeeding, the Lacedæmonians, when advertised of these new fortifications, marched their forces against Argos; their own, and all those of their allies, excepting the Corinthian. Some new projects in their favour were now also in agitation within Argos itself. The whole army was commanded by Agis, the son of Archidamus, King of the Lacedæmonians. The new turns they expected for their service took no effect within the city; but they made themselves masters of the new-erected walls, and levelled them with the ground. They also took Hysia, a town in Argia; and, having put all the freemen found within that place to the sword, they drew off, and dispersed to their several cities.

After this the Argives marched their force into Phliasia; and, after ravaging that district, because the exiles from Argos had met with a reception there, they again retired: for many of those exiles had taken up their residence at Phlius.

In the same winter the Athenians, exasperated against Perdiccas, prevented all manner of importations into Macedonia. They charged him with "taking part in the late treaty, confirmed by the sanction of oaths, between the Argives and Lacedæmonians; that, farther, when they had made great preparations against the Chalcideans of Thrace

and Amphipolis, and Nicias, the son of Niceratus, was appointed to command in that service, he had violated his obligations to act in concert, and that expedition came to nothing purely through his secession: he was therefore an enemy to Athens."

The winter expired in this manner; and with it the fifteenth year of the war came also to an end.

YEAR XVI.*

When summer came on, Alcibiades, with twenty sail, arrived at Argos, where he seized three hundred of the citizens, whose fidelity to the Athenians, and adherence to the Lacedæmonian interest, were still suspected; and these the Athenians secured in the neighbouring islands which were subject to their dominion.

The Athenians also undertook the reduction of Melos with a naval force, consisting of thirty sail of Athenians, six of Chians, and two of Lesbians; on board of which were transported twelve hundred heavy-armed Athenians, three hundred archers, and twenty who threw the bow on horseback. The number also of their dependants, from the continent and islands, which attended, was about fifteen hundred heavy-armed. The Melians† are a colony of the Lacedæmonians,

* Before Christ 416.

† The origin of this colony is curious, according to the account given of it by Plutarch.—"When the Tyrrhenes were masters of Lemnos and Imbrus, and made a practice of ravishing the wives of the Athenians at Brauron, a mixed breed was the consequence; whom, as half barbarians, the Athenians drove out of the isles. Thus exiled, they repaired to Tænarus, and were useful to the Spartans in their war against the Helots. They were afterward rewarded for their good services with the freedom of Sparta and liberty of intermarriage. Yet, not being allowed the honour of serving the offices of the state, or a seat in the council, they became afterward suspected, as caballing together for bad designs, and projecting to overthrow the constitution: the Lacedæmonians therefore apprehended them all; and, throwing them into prison, kept them confined under a strong guard, till they could find out clear and incontestable evidence against them. The wives of the prisoners came in a body to the prison, and, after much prayer and entreaty, were at length admitted by the guard to the sight and discourse of their husbands. When once they had gained access, they ordered them immediately to strip and change clothes with them: to

and had therefore refused to receive law from the Athenians in the same manner as the inhabitants of the other islands received it. At first, however, they observed a strict neutrality; but, in process of time, when the Athenians, by ravaging their country, would have obliged them to act offensively, they openly took part in the war against them.

With a force so strong as has been described, Cleomedes, the son of Lycomedes, and Tisias, the son of Tisimachus, landed and encamped upon the island. Yet, before they proceeded to hostilities, they sent a deputation from the army to demand a conference; whom the Melians refused to introduce into the assembly of the people, but, in the presence only of the magistrates and the few, commanded them to deliver their instructions. Upon this the Athenian deputation expressed themselves as follows:—

“Since to the people in full assembly we are precluded from speaking, lest the many, hearing their true interest declared at once by us in a continued discourse, and proved by arguments fitted to persuade and too strong to be refuted, might be wrought into our views, for such, we are sensible, is the plain construction of this our guarded audience by the few: to you, also, who now sit here, we recommend a method of making that point yet more secure, that, to the reasons we offer, you reserve not your objections for one formal deliberate reply, but, in case we offer any seeming incongruity, you immediately interrupt us, and discuss the point. And tell us, first, whether or not this proposal be agreeable.”

The Melians, who composed the synod, answered thus:—

leave them their own, and, dressed in those of their wives, to make their escape directly in that disguise. It was done; the women stayed behind, determined to endure whatever might be the consequence; and the guards, deceived by appearances, let out the husbands instead of the wives. They marched off and seized Taygeta; then seduced the Helots to revolt, and promised to support them; which struck a great terror among the Spartans. They sent to treat with them, and made up the matter on these conditions: ‘that they should have their wives restored safe to them; should be furnished with money and vessels for removal, and, when settled in another country, should be reckoned a colony and kinsmen of the Lacedæmonians.’ A body of them settled some time after in the Isle of Melos.”—*Of the Virtues of Women.*

"The candour of such leisurely debate, for mutual information, is not to be disapproved; and yet there seems to be great inconsistency between such candour and those warlike preparations, with which you no longer intend hereafter, but in present act have already beset us: for we perceive, that hither you are come to be authoritative judges of your own plea, and that the decision must needs prove fatal to us: since if, superior in debate, we for that reason refuse submission, our portion must be war; and, if we allow your plea, from that moment we become your slaves."

ATHENIANS.—"To what purpose this? If here you are met together to retail your suspicions of future events, or to talk of any thing but the proper means of extricating and preserving your state from the present and manifest dangers which environ it, we had better be silent: but, if the latter be your purpose, let us come to the point."

MELIANS.—"There is reason for it, and there ought to be forgiveness, when men, so situated as we are, are liable to much distraction both in speech and thought. The point for which we are assembled is, it is true, no less than our future preservation: if, therefore, it must be so, let the conference proceed in the method you require."

ATHEN.—"As, therefore, it is not our purpose to amuse you with pompous details; how, after completely vanquishing the Mede, we had a right to assume the sovereignty, or how, provoked by the wrongs received from you, we come hither to earn redress; we shall waive all parade of words that have no tendency towards conviction; and, in return, insist from you that you reject all hopes of persuading us by frivolous remonstrances; that, as a colony of the Lacedæmonians, you were incapacitated from accompanying our arms, or that wrongs in any shape you have never done us. But, these things apart, let us lay all stress on such points as may really, on both sides, be judged persuasive: since of this you are as strongly convinced as we ourselves are sensible of it, that, in all human competitions, equal wants alone produce equitable determination; and, in what terms soever the powerful enjoin obedience, to those the weak are obliged to submit."

MEL.—"If this be so, we boldly aver, for, as you have discarded justice from the question, and substituted interest in its place, we must follow the precedent, that you also it

concerns, we should not be deprived of the common privilege of men; but that to human creatures, ever liable to so dangerous a loss, the pleas of reason and equity, even though urged beyond their exact limitations, should be indulged and allowed their weight. And more to you than to others is this proper to be suggested, lest, after satiating revenge in all its fury, should you ever be overthrown, you may teach your enemies how you ought to be treated."

ATHEN.—"That affects us not: for, though to our share an overthrow of empire fall, the event would render us neither abject nor desponding; because men, inured to enlarged command, as the Lacedæmonians for instance, are never terrible to the vanquished. But our contest, at present, is not against the Lacedæmonians. That revenge alone is terrible, when subjects tumultuously rebel, and gain the ascendant over such as were once their masters; and truly, to avert such dangerous extremities, be the care intrusted to us. But, on the present occasion, that we are here for the enlargement of our own power, and that what we have to urge concerns the preservation of the state of Melos, these are the points we are to establish. We are desirous to have our power extended over you without obstruction; and your preservation to be amply secured for the common benefit of us both."

MEL.—"And how can it turn out as beneficial for us to become your slaves as it will for you to be our masters?"

ATHEN.—"Plainly thus:—because, instead of suffering the extremities of conquest, you may merely become our subjects, and we, by exempting you from a total destruction, shall gain your service."

MEL.—"But will not these terms content you:—that we be permitted to persevere in quiet; to be friends to you, instead of enemies; but, in regard to war, to be strictly neutral?"

ATHEN.—"No: for all your enmity cannot hurt us so much as the acceptance of such friendship from you. The latter, to those over whom we rule, would suggest intimations of our weakness: your enmity is a proof of our power."

MEL.—"Are your subjects then such sorry judges of equity and right, as to place upon the same level those who are under no manner of tie, and who were never indebted for

their settlement to you, and those who, revolting from you, have been again reduced?"

ATHEN.—"Why should they not? They know such a sense of things may be well grounded in regard to both; inasmuch as those who are exempted from our yoke owe such exemption to their own superior strength, and, if we attack them not, it is the pure result of fear. And hence the reduction of you, besides enlarging our empire, will invest it with more ample security; especially when, seated on an island, you are bound to submit to the masters of the sea, and to remain henceforth too weak for resistance, unless you are victorious at the present crisis."

MEL.—"Do you then conclude that what we have proposed is incompatible with your own security?—For since, excluding us from the plea of justice, you endeavour merely to persuade us into subserviency to your interest, we also are again necessitated to insist once more on the profitable to ourselves, and, by showing that with our welfare your own also coincides, endeavour to prevail. What think you of all those states which now stand neutral in your disputes? How will you avoid their implacable hatred when, terrified at such your usage of us, they must live in constant expectation of your hostilities? And whither can such conduct tend, but to enlarge the number of your declared enemies, and to constrain others, who never designed to be your foes, to take up arms against you, though to their own regret?"

ATHEN.—"That never can be, since from states seated on the continent we have nothing to apprehend; they are under no immediate necessity of guarding their liberty against attacks from us. Those alone we dread who are seated in islands; and who, like you, refuse our government; or who, having felt the pains of subjection, are irritated against us. Such are most likely to have recourse to violent measures, and to plunge themselves and us into imminent dangers."

MEL.—"If this be so; and if you, ye Athenians, can readily embark into so many perils to prevent the dissolution of your own empire; if states, by you enslaved, can do as much to throw off your yoke;—must it not be wretchedly base and cowardly in us, who yet are free, to leave any method, even to the last extremity, untried, of averting slavery?"

ATHEN.—"If you judge of things as wise men ought, we answer—Not. For the point in which you are at present

concerned is not a trial of valour upon equal terms, in order to escape the reproach of cowardice ; but your deliberations proceed at present about the means of self-preservation, that you may not be obliged to encounter those who must by far overpower you."

MEL.—"But we, on the contrary, know that the enterprises of war have sometimes very different events to those which superiority of numbers gave reason to expect ; and, in regard to ourselves, that, if we yield at once, eternal despair must be our fate ; but, by acting resolutely in our own defence, we may yet entertain a hope of success."

ATHEN.—"Hope in this manner is ever applied to be the solace of danger. And truly, in situations which can afford to be disappointed, though ever prejudicial, it is not always fatal. But such as idly lavish their last resource, their very all, upon hope (for it is prodigal by nature), are only by their own ruin convinced of its delusion ; nay, when its delusion is thus by sad experience discovered, and men should guard themselves against it, it will not yet let go its hold in the human heart. Choose not, therefore, so fatal a resource for yourselves in your present destitute situation, hanging as you are on the very brink of ruin. Let not your conduct resemble the foolish behaviour of the mob of mankind, who, though by human means their safety might be earned, yet, when calamity has chased away all visible hopes of redress, betake themselves to others of a darker cast, to divinations and to oracles, and all such vain expedients as hope suggests, to draw them to their destruction."

MEL.—"Difficult indeed, as we apprehend, and you well know, the contest must prove to us against your strength and fortune, matched as we are so unequally together. Yet the confidence still supports us, that in fortune, since of divine disposal, we shall not be inferior, as with innocence on our side we stand against injustice ; that, farther, our deficiencies in strength will be amplified by the addition of Lacedæmonian aid ; since it is incumbent upon them to support us, if from no other motive, yet from the ties of blood and a sense of honour. And thus it is not entirely without good grounds that we can form the resolution to withstand your efforts."

ATHEN.—"Nor have we any reason to apprehend, on our own account, that the divine benevolence will not equally exert itself for us ; because neither our opinions nor our acts

are worse than those of the rest of mankind, either in regard to the worship of the gods or an acknowledgment of their providence. For of the divine nature we think like the rest of the world ; and of men, that beyond a scruple they are impelled, by the necessary bent of their nature, to seize dominion wherever they have power. As for ourselves, we were not the authors of this constitution, nor were we the first who digested it into practice. We found it already in force ; we have accordingly applied it, and shall leave it behind us for the practice of every future age ; conscious that you yourselves, and every other state invested with equal power, would make the same exertion of it. And truly, so far as relates to the gods, we have no more reason to distrust their protection than our neighbours. But your sentiments of the Lacedæmonians are such that you are confident of support from them because it will be base in them to refuse it. Here we bless your simplicity, but envy not your folly. The Lacedæmonians, we allow, among one another, and in paying all due regard to the laws of their country, give ample proofs of honour and virtue : but their behaviour towards the rest of mankind, though it would open a large field of censure were it to be minutely examined, yet at present shall be shown by one concise declaration, that, according to the best lights we have been able to collect, they repute as honourable the things which please them, and as just the things which promote their interest. Such maxims are not in the least conducive to your preservation : it is all chimeræ."

MEL.—"No. We ground our hopes of relief from them upon their own clear conviction of what their interest enjoins them. This never can suffer them to entertain a thought of abandoning the Melians, who are a colony of their own ; of being faithless to the states of Greece, who wish them well ; or of promoting the schemes of the common foe."

ATHEN.—"Of consequence you imagine that their interest is connected with your security ; that the duties of justice should in honour be observed, though attended with dangers. But these are maxims which the Lacedæmonians, least of all men, have resolution enough to observe in fact."

MEL.—"We have the strongest grounds to imagine that in our defence they will hazard any dangers, from a sense that their own preservation depends more on us than any other people, as we are finely situated for doing them ser-

vice in Peloponnesus, and in affection are more faithfully attached to them through the bands of consanguinity."

ATHEN.—"But the certainty of obtaining succour in the intervals of need seems not to depend so much on the merit of those who implore it, as on the consciousness of superior strength in those who are implored to give it: a maxim this, to which no state adheres so strictly as the Lacedæmonian. Hence, ever through a diffidence of their own domestic force, they never dare even to invade their neighbours without the concurrence of numerous allies. There cannot, therefore, be the least room to expect that they will transport an aid into an island while we are masters of the sea."

MEL.—"Not perhaps of their own forces; but they have confederates enough to employ in this service. The sea of Crete is wide and spacious; a passage through it even the lords of the sea will find it more difficult to obstruct than those who are intent on stealing it to effect with safety. Or, grant they miscarry in the attempt, at worst they can make a diversion upon your territory, or against the remainder of your dependants who escaped the efforts of Brasidas. And then your attention and your arms must be drawn from a quarter where you have no right to fix them, for the necessary defence of your own home and your own appendage."

ATHEN.—"Though such turns may intervene, your own experience should teach you to distrust them: for you are not, cannot be ignorant, that the Athenians never yet would condescend to raise a siege through hostile dread. But we cannot avoid observing that, in the whole course of this debate, though declared by you to be held as the means of your preservation, you have not so much as started one single point upon which wise men can presume to fasten the least confidence of redress. Your firmest security is placed in the faint hope of some distant contingencies; but your present strength is merely trifling against the extensive scope of your antagonists. Nay, victims you must fall to your absurd presumptions, unless, when we are once withdrawn to give you time to consult, you determine to try some other expedient. You will then no longer be controlled by that sense of shame which, when dishonour glares before, and danger presses on, precipitates men into ruin. For though they see, with their eyes quite open, into what an abyss they are going to plunge, yet, to avoid the imputation of what the world styles dishon-

our,—so prevalent is the force of one bewitching sound!—though vanquished by it, they scorn to yield to reason, wilfully embarrassing themselves with incurable calamities, and contracting a more shameful weight of dishonour, through their own mad obstinacy, than fortune could award them. Such consequences you are now concerned by mature deliberations to avoid. You are next to reflect that no shame can attend your plying under the force of a most formidable state; a state which designs to make the moderate demands alone,—that you would accept her alliance, and securely enjoy your territory upon the condition only to pay her tribute; and, when war or safety is left to your own option, that you would not peevishly prefer the worse. For these are the men to maintain themselves in credit and prosperity, who never suffer their equals to insult them, who pay proper regard to their superiors, and towards their inferiors behave with moderation. Reflect on these points while we withdraw; and remember, again and again, that your country now calls for all your prudence, since, by the single deliberation of this single day, as either it takes a prosperous or sinister turn, her fate will be determined."

Here the Athenians withdrew from the conference; and the Melians, after being some time alone, and resolving finally to reject what they had already refused, gave in their answer thus:—

"We continue, Athenians, in the very same sentiments we have already declared. We shall not, in an instant of time, abandon that liberty which, in the free possession of our own state, we have enjoyed for the space of seven hundred years; which still we shall spare no endeavours to preserve, intrusting it to that fortune which, by divine permission, has hitherto preserved it, and to that redress we expect from human aid and the Lacedæmonians. But thus much again we offer:—to be friends to you, enemies to neither, on condition you quit our lands, after an accommodation ratified between us to our reciprocal satisfaction."

The Melians in this manner delivered their final answer. But the Athenians, the very moment they quitted the place of conference, uttered themselves thus:—

"You, Melians, alone of all mankind, are the persons, so far as we can judge, who regard future contingencies as an over-balance for instant dangers, and, through mad presump-

tion, value things yet invisible as really actual. But, the greater your dependance, the more rash your confidence upon Lacedæmonians, upon fortune, and upon hope, the more abundantly fatal your delusions will prove."

And, this said, the Athenian deputation returned to their camp.

But the Athenian commanders, upon this refusal of submission from the Melians, applied themselves instantly to the acts of war; and, dividing the work in shares to the several parties in their army, completely shut up the Melians in a line of circumvallation. And, when this was perfected, and a sufficient number, both of the Athenians and their dependants, were appointed to stay behind and continue the blockade both by land and sea, they departed with the bulk of their forces. Those, farther, who were left for this service, stayed behind and continued the blockade.

About the same time the Argives, making an irruption into Phliasia, and caught in an ambuscade laid for them by the Phliasians and their own exiles, were slaughtered to the number of eighty.

The Athenians, by their excursions from Pylus, committed many depredations on the Lacedæmonians. But these had not influence enough upon the Lacedæmonians to cause a renunciation of the peace, or a renewal of the war. They only proclaimed that "their people had free leave to make reprisals on the Athenians."

The Corinthians also had a war with the Athenians, on account of some private differences between them; but the rest of Peloponnesus interfered not in the quarrel.

The Melians, farther, assaulting it by night, carried that part of the Athenian circumvallation which lay close to their market. They slew the guards who were posted there; and, having gained a conveyance into the town for provisions, and all necessary stores they could procure by money, they afterward withdrew, and discontinued all efforts of resistance: but the Athenians took care for the future to place a stronger guard upon their works. And here the summer ended.

In the winter which followed, the Lacedæmonians drew out their forces in order to begin an expedition into Argia; but, when the victims offered on the frontiers boded no success to the expedition, they again withdrew. Yet the Argives, as such an invasion had been intended against them,

suspected it was owing to the intrigues of a faction within their city ; some of whom they immediately secured, but the rest escaped by flight.

About the same time also, the Melians carried another part of the Athenian circumvallation, as the party by which it was guarded was not numerous. But, upon such disturbances, a strong re-enforcement was sent from Athens, under the command of Philocrates, the son of Demeas. The Melians were now closely invested on all sides ; and, some schemes to betray the town being in agitation among them, they thought proper to make a voluntary surrender. This they did "at the discretion of the Athenians ;" who put to death all they found within the place able to bear arms, and made the women and children slaves. The town they afterward re-peopled by sending thither a colony of five hundred.

BOOK VI.

The Athenians resolve on the expedition to Sicily.—Description of that island.—YEAR XVII. The debate in the assembly of the people at Athens about the expedition.—The generals nominated with full powers.—The affair of the Mercuries.—Departure of the grand fleet for Sicily.—Proceedings at Syracuse.—The Athenian fleet arrives on the coast of Italy.—Alcibiades recalled, to take his trial about the Mercuries and profanation of the Mysteries.—A digression, containing the true account of a former revolution at Athens, begun by Harmodius and Aristogiton.—Alcibiades flies, and is proclaimed a traitor.—The Athenians land at Syracuse.—A battle ensues, in which the Athenians are victorious; but, soon after, they return to Catana.—The negotiations at Camarina.—Alcibiades at Sparta.—XVIII. The Athenians land again at Syracuse, take Epipolæ by surprise, and begin to invest Syracuse in form.—Battles; the Athenians carry on their works; counterwork of the Syracusans.—Aid sent to Syracuse from Peloponnesus, under the command of Gylippus; he arrives at Tarentum.—The Athenians, by openly joining the Argives against the Lacedæmonians, violate the treaty of peace in Greece.

IN the same winter the Athenians came to a resolution to make a second expedition against Sicily, with a larger force than had been sent thither heretofore, under Laches and Eurymedon, and to attempt its total reduction. The bulk of the people was, in truth, ignorant of the largeness of the island, and of the multitude of the Grecians and Barbarians by whom it was inhabited; ignorant, farther, that they were going to embark in a war not much less considerable than the Peloponnesian.

The compass of Sicily is little under eight days' sail for a trading vessel; and, though it be so large, it is severed from the mainland, so as not to be part of the continent, by a gut, in breadth about twenty stadia.* The manner in which it was inhabited in the earliest ages was this; and the several nations which possessed it were these.

* About two miles.

The Cyc ops and Lestrigons are said to be the most ancient inhabitants of some part of this country ; but, from what stock they were derived, or from whence they came hither, or what is become of them since, I have nothing to relate. Poetical amusements must here suffice, or such information as every man picks up for his own use.

The Sicanians appear to be the first people who, next to those, inhabited this country ; though, according to their own accounts, they are prior ; because they claim to themselves the original tenure : but, according to the truest discoveries, they are found to have been Iberians, who were compelled to remove from the banks of the Sicanus, in Iberia, by the Libyans. And from them, at that time, this island received the name of Sicania, having before been called Trinacria. They continue to this day to inhabit the western parts of Sicily.

After the taking of Troy, some of the Trojans, who had escaped the Achæans, arrived in their vessels upon the Sicilian shore, and, forming a settlement adjacent to the Sicanians, they all took jointly the name of Elymi ; and their cities were Eryx and Egesta. They were also increased by the accession of some Phocians from Troy, who, having first been driven to Libya by a storm, passed over afterward from thence into Sicily.

- The Siculi passed over first into Sicily from Italy, for there they originally dwelt. They fled before the Opici ; and, as the story is told, not without probability, having observed how the current set within the strait, and seized a favourable gale, they crossed over upon rafts, and perhaps by some other methods. There are, even to this very day, a people in Italy called Siculi ; and that region, in a similar manner, obtained its name of Italy from a certain Arcadian king, who bore the name of Italus. These, crossing into Sicily with formidable numbers, and vanquishing the Sicanians in battle, drove them into the southern and western parts ; caused the name of the island to be changed from Sicania to Sicily ; settled themselves in, and kept possession of, the richest tracts in the country, since their passage hither was near three hundred years earlier than the landing of any Grecians in Sicily. Nay, they continue to this very day in possession of the midland and northerly parts of the island.

The Phœnicians also had settlements quite round the coast of Sicily. They secured the capes on the sea and the

small circumjacent isles, for the sake of trafficking with the Sicilians: but when the Grecians, in considerable numbers, began to cross over and fix their residence here, the Phœnicians abandoned their other settlements, and, uniting together, seated themselves at Motya, and Soloeis, and Panormus, near to the Elymi; secure of their own continuance in these quarters from their friendship with the Elymi, and because, from this part of Sicily the passage to Carthage is exceeding short. So many were the Barbarians seated in Sicily; and such the order of their settlements.

The first Grecians who came hither were the Chalcideans of Eubœa. Thucles led the colony which settled at Naxos, and erected the altar of Apollo the Guide, which is still to be seen without the city; and on which the deputations, sent from hence to the oracles, offer sacrifice before they begin their voyage.

In the year following Archias, a Corinthian, of the race of Hercules, founded Syracuse, having previously expelled the Sicilians out of that island on which the inner city is seated, though now no longer washed round about by the sea: and, in process of time, the upper city also, being taken in by a wall, became exceeding populous.

In the fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse, Thucles and his Chalcideans sallied forth out of Naxos; and having by force of arms driven away the Sicilians, they build Leontium, and afterward Catana. But the Cataneans themselves declared Evarchus their founder.

About the same point of time Lamis also, leading a colony from Megara, arrived in Sicily, and planted them on a spot called Trotilus, upon the river Pantacias. But, removing afterward from thence to Leontium, he associated himself a short time with the Cataneans for the protection of his party; yet, being ejected by them, and then having founded Thapsus, he died. His followers, upon this, removed from Thapsus; and Hyblon, a Sicilian king, betraying another place into their hands, and becoming himself their conductor, they settled those Megareans who are called Hyblæan; and, after a continued possession of two hundred and forty-five years, they were expelled out of their city and territory by Gelon, tyrant of the Syracusans. Yet, before this ejection, about a hundred years after their settlement there, they had sent out Pammilus, and built the city of Selinus. Pammilus had

come thither more lately from Megara, their mother city, and assisted them in making this new settlement at Selinus.

Antiphemus from Rhodes, and Eutimus from Crete, each leading a separate colony, founded Gela in conjunction, in the forty-fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse. The name of this new city was taken from the river Gela : yet the spot where the city now stands, and which was first walled round, is called Lindii. But their polity was framed upon the Doric model.

In the hundred and eighth year, as near as possible, after this last settlement, the Geloans built Acragas, giving the city its name from the river Acragas. They declared Aristonius and Pystilus to be its founders, and gave it the civil institutions of Gela.

Zancle was originally founded by a band of pirates, who arrived there from Cyme, a Chalcidic city in Opicia ; though afterward a numerous re-enforcement from Chalcis and the rest of Eubœa joined them, and possessed that district in community. The founders were Perieres and Cratæmenes ; one of them from Cyme, the other from Chalcis. But the name of Zancle was first of all given it by the Sicilians, because in shape it bears a resemblance to a scythe, and the Sicilians call a scythe *zanculum*. But, in process of time, these people were driven from thence by the Samians and other Ionians, who, flying from the Medes, had landed in Sicily. And, after a short interval, Anaxilas, tyrant of the Rhegians, ejected the Samians, repeopled the city with a number of mixed inhabitants, and changed its name to Messene, in honour of the country from whence he was originally descended. Himera also was founded from Zancle by Euclides, and Simus, and Sacon. Into this colony came also a very numerous body of Chalcideans. Some exiles farther from Syracuse, who had been worsted in a sedition, and were distinguished by the title of Miletidæ, took up their residence among them. Hence their dialect became a mixture of the Chalcidic and the Doric ; but the Chalcidic model obtained in their civil institutions.

Acraë and Casmenæ were founded by the Syracusans ; Acraë seventy years after Syracuse, and Casmenæ near twenty after Acraë. Camarina also was first founded by the Syracusans, very nearly one hundred and thirty-five years after the building of Syracuse ; its founders were Dæcon and

Menecolus. But the Camarineans being afterward driven out by the arms of the Syracusans, because of a revolt, in process of time Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, received the lands of the Camarineans as a ransom for some Syracusan prisoners of war, and taking upon himself to be their founder, replanted Camarina. Yet once more again it was demolished by Gelon; and replanted a third time by the same Gelon. So many nations of Greeks and Barbarians inhabited Sicily.

An island so large and so populous the Athenians were passionately bent on invading. Their truest and final view was to compass its total reduction; but the pretext, alleged for a colour, was their readiness to succour such as by blood were related, or by prior alliances had been attached, to them. An Egestean embassy, now residing at Athens, laboured the point with all possible industry, and with extraordinary earnestness pressed them to engage in it. For the Egesteans, who bordered upon the Selinuntians, had been embroiled in a war with the latter about some connubial points, and a certain tract of land to which both laid claim. The Selinuntians, farther, assisted by their Syracusan allies, pressed hard upon them both by land and sea. And hence the Egesteans were now suggesting at Athens that "they ought not to forget their alliance with the Leontines, made by Laches in the former war;" requesting farther, that a naval force might be sent thither for their succour. To this purpose many other arguments were alleged by them, but the principal was this: "If the Syracusans, who have overthrown the Leontines, be left in the unmolested enjoyment of their conquest, and proceed still farther to destroy the remaining parties of that alliance, they will get into their hands the whole power of Sicily. Such an event would be attended with the utmost danger; lest, in consequence of it, as they were Doric by descent, they might think themselves bound by the ties of blood to assist with a powerful armament their kindred Dorians, and, in quality of colonies, might succour those Peloponnesians by whom they were originally planted, and thus form a combination to demolish the Athenian empire. In policy, therefore, the Athenians were obliged to support the allies who yet remained, in order to make head against the Syracusans; and this the more readily, as they themselves would undertake to furnish them with sums of money equal to the exigences of

the war." With such discourse the Athenians were frequently entertained in their popular assemblies, as the Egeæan ambassadors, still urging their point, had gained many advocates to second their arguments. And at length it was decreed, that "ambassadors should be previously despatched to Egeæa to inspect the state of their wealth, whether they had such sums as they talked of in the public treasury and the temples; and also to draw up a report of the present posture of their war against the Selinuntians." And, in pursuance of this, the ambassadors from the Athenians were sent to Sicily.

The Lacedæmonians, in the same winter, joined by their allies, those of Corinth excepted, and marching into Argia, ravaged a small part of that territory, and carried off the corn, having brought carriages for that purpose. They also removed the Argive exiles to Ornea, and left them a small detachment from their main army for the security of their persons. A temporary truce being also made, during which the Orneæ and Argives were to abstain from all hostilities against one another, they drew off the army to their respective homes.

However, not long after this, the Athenians arrived with thirty sail of ships and six hundred heavy-armed. The Argives, in conjunction with the Athenians, took the field with all their strength, and besieged those in Ornea for the space of a day. But, as at night the besiegers removed to a distance in order for repose, those of Ornea made their escape. On the day following the Argives, when sensible of their escape, levelled Ornea with the ground, and then withdrew. And afterward the Athenians re-embarked for Athens.

The Athenians also threw in by sea a party of horsemen into Methone, a frontier town of Macedonia. With these, consisting of their own citizens and such Macedonians as had refuged among them, they harassed the country belonging to Perdiccas. But the Lacedæmonians sent a summons of aid for Perdiccas to the Chalcidæans of Thrace, who kept terms with the Athenians by truces renewed every tenth day; these however refused to march. Thus ended the winter, and with it the sixteenth year of the war, of which Thucydides has compiled the history.

YEAR XVII.*

In the succeeding year, very early in the spring, the Athenian ambassadors returned from Sicily, accompanied by the Egesteans. They brought sixty talents of uncoined silver, being a month's pay for sixty sail of ships, the equipment of which for succour they were instructed to solicit from the Athenians. Upon this, an assembly of the people was called, and the reports of the Egestean and their own ambassadors were received, consisting of many points, specious indeed, but false in fact; and, so far as related to their treasure, that "sums ample enough are already deposited in their temples and their public treasury." In consequence of this, a decree was made that "a fleet of sixty ships should sail for Sicily; the commanders, Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, Nicias, the son of Niceratus, and Lamachus,† the son of Xenophanes, to be invested with full powers to act at their own discretion. The whole armament to act as an aid to the Egesteans

* Before Christ 415.

† Lamachus, the third in this commission, seems to have been picked out for the command from the peculiar constitution of his own character, which was a proper mean between the cautious and phlegmatic disposition of Nicias and the fiery impetuous ardour of Alcibiades. He was now (according to Plutarch) a brave old experienced officer. In his youth he had been remarkable for heat and fire: a length of service and years mellowed him into the right temper to deliberate before hand, and then gallantly to carry the point into execution; but then he wanted the means of properly supporting the authority and dignity of his post. He was now ranked with two of the most wealthy and noble Athenians; whereas his own condition was low; nay, he was (according to Plutarch) so exceedingly poor, that, before he went to any foreign command, he was used to petition the state for a little money to furnish him out, and even to buy him some shoes. Mr. Wess, in his notes on Thucydides, refers us for his character to a comedy of Aristophanes (*The Acharnians*); that is, to inquire after the character of a plain blunt officer from a professed droll, or to seek truth from him who ridiculed all mankind. Aristophanes has represented Lamachus as a vain-glorious roaring bully, a mere thing of arms, a creature of verbal pomp and parade; contrary to all the truth of history. Writers who live by turning great and good men into ridicule, should never be reckoned good evidence as to the truth and reality of characters, when history dissents.

against the Selinuntians; to replace also the Leontines in their former habitations, if the state of the war gave them leisure to execute that service; and to manage all other points in Sicily as they should judge most beneficial for the Athenian interest."

But the fifth day after this, another assembly of the people was held upon the ways and means to expedite the equipment of the fleet, and by proper decrees to supply the commanders with what might be requisite to accelerate their departure. Nicias, who against his will had been named for a commander, was persuaded that the public determinations were rash and premature, since, on short examination, and motives merely specious, they were bent on the total reduction of Sicily, an arduous undertaking! Now, therefore, he stood up; and, having a mind to stop proceedings, he advised the Athenians as follows:—

"I am aware that the present assembly is held to concert the means of expediting our preparations, and to get all in readiness for the expedition to Sicily. But, in my sentiments, we ought once more to resume the consideration of the previous point, 'whether upon the whole it be advisable to equip out such a fleet;' and not, by rash and premature resolves on points of such vast importance, through too easy compliance with foreign solicitations, to embroil ourselves in an unnecessary war. For my own part, truly, I am invested with honour by the present measures, and no man upon earth is so little anxious about his own personal safety. But at the same time I pronounce that person to be a valuable member of the public, who makes use of all his prudence to preserve his own life and property: for such a one, purely for his own private benefit, must be desirous that the public welfare flourish and abound. But, however, neither in the preceding assemblies could the pre-eminence of honour awarded to me bias me to speak in contradiction to my judgment; nor shall it bias me at present; but what I think tends most to the public good, that only shall I utter.

"I am also sensible, that what I can urge may have but little influence on Athenian tempers, when I attempt persuading you to secure what you already possess, and not to hazard the present for things invisible and future: but that your eagerness is quite unseasonable; and that the ends, which you too sanguinely propose, are not easy to be accomplished;—these things I shall clearly demonstrate.

"To this purpose I aver, that if the intended expedition proceeds, you are going to leave many enemies behind you here, and to take the most certain method of fetching hither more numerous opponents. You imagine, perhaps, that the late peace will be firmly and constantly observed, though it was merely a nominal peace, and that only so long as you remain inactive. Nay, such it has been made by the conduct of some even of our own community. And, should any considerable force of ours have the unhappiness to sink under hostile efforts, our old enemies will be suddenly upon us; since merely by calamities they were reduced to an accommodation, and, in a manner more disgraceful to themselves than to us, were necessitated to treat. In the next place we have found, that in the treaty itself many articles are still controverted. There are, farther, divers states, and those by no means the weakest, who have not accepted the accommodation; but, on the contrary, are still in arms against us; while others are inhibited merely by ten-day truces, and that only because the Lacedæmonian measures are hitherto pacific. But suddenly, perhaps, when once they find our strength divided, the very measure into which we are now precipitating ourselves, they may fall upon us in a general combination, augmented by the strength of Sicily, whose accession to their former confederacy they would have been glad to purchase at any price. On these possibilities we are bound sedately to reflect, that we may not plunge a state so highly exalted into superfluous dangers, nor fondly covet to wrest their empire from the hands of others before we have adequately ensured our own, since the Chalcideans of Thrace, though so many years are now elapsed since they first revolted, are not yet reduced; and some other states on the continent render us only a precarious obedience.

"Yet, to the Egæsteans, our old allies, who are injuriously oppressed, we are bound in honour to send a most speedy succour. And, in the meantime, we continue to defer avenging ourselves upon those whose revolt from us is of long standing now, and whose injustice we are still obliged to suffer. Though the latter, could we once bring them back to their duty, we might easily control for the future: but the former, should we ever become their masters, remote and numerous as they are, we should not without difficulty be able to awe. It must be madness, therefore, to invade that peo-

ple, whom, though conquered, you can never retain in their obedience; and who, in case the attempt against them miscarry, will for the future be much more disaffected towards you than they were before that attempt was made.

“But it is farther my real opinion, that the Sicilians, as their affairs are now circumstantiated, would become less formidable to us if once reduced to the Syracusan yoke;—and yet on this remote contingency the Egesteans have chiefly insisted, in order to alarm us. Perhaps now it may come to pass, that its single states may combine against us to gratify the Lacedæmonians; but, in the other case, it is quite improbable that a united empire would hazard its own welfare to demolish another. For if, acting from a political precaution, they may side with the Peloponnesians to overturn our empire, those very Peloponnesians may probably, from the same principle, concur with us to demolish the Sicilian. As for us, the Grecians there may have reason to dread us most if we go not at all among them; and, what is next to that, if we only give them a sight of our power for a short time, and then withdraw. But if, acting offensively, we incur miscarriage, they will instantly despise us, and join our neighbouring foes to annoy us here. For things that are placed most remotely from us, as likewise those which yield no opportunity of adjusting our opinion of them by experience, such, it is universally known, are most apt to excite admiration. Reflect, ye citizens of Athens, that your present elevation of spirits is owing to your success against the Lacedæmonians and allies. You crouched for fear under their first attacks; till, having gained the superiority over them, to their utter disappointment, you instantly despised them. And now, nothing less than Sicily can content you. We by no means ought to be too much buoyed up by the disasters of our foes, but only to be so far confident as we are able to awe their intriguing tempers. We ought to ascribe no other view to the Lacedæmonians than a vigilant care to seize the first opportunity of wiping off their disgrace by giving us a blow, and thus recovering their former reputation; and that they are most earnest on accomplishing this, since, from time immemorial, the glory of military valour has been their warmest, most prevailing passion. Our welfare, therefore, if we knew in what our welfare consists, by no means summons us to enter the lists in behalf of the Egesteans of Sicily, who to us are mere barbarians; but

to exert our utmost vigilance to guard our own constitution from oligarchical encroachments.

"My duty obliges me also to remind you, that we have had but a short respite to breathe from the havoc made among us by pestilence and war, and to repair the prodigious waste of our fortunes and our lives. These, according to all the rules of equity, should be reserved for our own domestic exigences, and not be lavished away on a set of fugitives who implore our protection, and are bound in interest to tell specious falsehoods; though, while plunging their neighbours into hazards, they have nothing but words to contribute; and, should we redress them, know not how to be grateful; but, in case we miscarry in the attempt, must involve their friends in their own destruction.

"If there be, farther, a person who, elevated with his own designation to the command, incites you earnestly to sail: heedful of nothing but his own private views, nor qualified by his years for so important a trust; if his passion be merely to excite admiration for his fine breed of horses, or, by the gains of his commission, to repair the havoc of his fortune caused by prodigality; I conjure you to afford no such person an opportunity to make a splendid figure at the expense of your country: but rest convinced, that men of such a turn will be corrupt in public office, as they are bad economists in private life; that the enterprise in hand is a very arduous trust, far beyond such measures or such exploits as a stripling can devise or execute.

"I own myself intimidated by that crowd of youths who sit by this person and abet his schemes. I am hence obliged to implore the men of years and experience, who happen to sit near them, by no means to dread that appearance of pusillanimity which, in case this decree of war be revoked, might be objected to them; by no means to indulge the same raw passions by which boys are actuated, so as to dote upon remote contingencies. You, gentlemen, by experience are convinced, that success exceedingly seldom results from hot and sanguine presumption, but most frequently from calm and prudent deliberation. In behalf, therefore, of your country, which is now on the brink of more critical dangers than ever it has known before, hold up your hands in opposition, and support what I am going to move, namely, that 'the Sicilians, confining themselves within their present limits, which

we do not pretend to abridge, with free navigation along the coast of the Ionian Gulf, and transacting their own affairs at large through the whole extent of the Sicilian seas, be at liberty to take care of their own concerns without any molestation :’ and, in particular, to return the Egeseans the following answer :—‘ Since, without the privity of the Athenians, they have already involved themselves in a war against the Selinuntians, let them also, without the concurrence of the Athenians, bring it to a conclusion : that, moreover, we shall form no alliance for the future, as has formerly been the case, with men whose indirect behaviour we must be forced to abet, though, when we stand in need of reciprocal assistance from them, we shall get none at all.’

“ And you, sir, who at present preside in this assembly, if you are conscious that it is your duty to superintend the public welfare, if you are desirous to behave like a worthy patriot, put the question, and call upon the Athenians once more to give their votes. And, in case you are afraid to act contrary to order, in proposing what is counter to a former decree, reflect that, when so great a crowd of witnesses is at hand to justify the step, you only act the part of a physician to your country, which has swallowed down pernicious counsels ; and that he best discharges the duty of first magistrate who will render to his country all the service he is able ; at least, with his eyes open, will never suffer it to be hurt.”

In this manner Nicias delivered his sentiments. But the far greater part of the Athenians who were present declared for the expedition, and against the repeal of what had been already decreed. Some, however, there were, who made a fruitless opposition.

The person who showed most ardour, and pressed them most earnestly to proceed, was Alcibiades, the son of Clinias ; partly from a resolution to oppose Nicias, with whom, in other political points, he generally clashed, and because he had calumniously glanced at him in his speech ; but principally because he was ambitious of being at the head of this expedition. He presumed that not Sicily only, but Carthage also, might be reduced by himself ; and, when he should be the author of so great a success, that he must needs abound in wealth and glory. His credit was great at present among the citizens ; but the warmth of his passions threw him into larger expenses than his fortune could support, be-

ing sumptuous in every article of life, and especially in horses; and it was chiefly by him that the final overthrow of Athens was at length occasioned. For the bulk of the city, alarmed at the great irregularity of his private life, the excessive luxury of his dress and diet, as also at that greatness of spirit which he showed in every single branch of his conduct, turned out enemies to him as a man who affected the tyranny. And though, when in public commands, he conducted the war with the utmost bravery, yet, at home, each single citizen was chagrined at his manners, and displaced him to make room for others, which soon drew after it the subversion of the state. Upon this occasion, therefore, Alcibiades stood up, and advised the Athenians as follows:—

“Yes, to me, ye citizens of Athens, in preference to others, this command is due; for with this I must needs begin, since on this point Nicias has attacked me; and I also judge myself deserving of the trust. In regard to those things which have caused me to be so loudly censured, those very things give splendour to my ancestors and to myself, and are of public emolument also to my country. The great magnificence I displayed at the Olympic solemnities has raised in the Grecians an idea of Athens far beyond its actual strength; though, previous to this, they entertained the hope of being able totally to war her down. For I am the man who brought seven chariots thither, more than any private person ever furnished out before; who carried off the first, and the second, and the fourth prize; and in all other respects supported my quality as a victor. Such things, it must be owned, are declared to be honoured by the laws of Greece: and, whenever achieved, they leave a high opinion of power behind them. The splendid figure I have made at home, whether in exhibiting entertainments for the public, or any other method of munificence, may naturally excite the envy of Athenians, but are to strangers instances of our grandeur. And that man's extravagant spirit is not useless to the public who, at his own private expense, does service not merely to himself, but to a whole community. Nor can it imply injustice, for a person whose sentiments are generous and exalted, to soar above the ordinary level; since, should he afterward be reduced to a state of depression, no man is to share in his reverse of fortune. As therefore in calamity we are not to expect even civil salutations, let others in the mean-

time submit, as in justice they ought, to that assuming behaviour which prosperity inspires ; or, at least, let equality of demeanour be first shown by him who demands it as a debt from another. I am indeed aware, that persons of such uncommon elevation, and all in general who, in some splendid qualities, outshine the crowd, must, so long as they live, be the objects of spleen, chiefly to those who claim equality with them ; and, in the next place, to those among whom they are conversant : and yet, to succeeding generations, they leave an ambition of claiming affinity to them, though quite groundless and chimerical ; and to their country, whatever it be, the haughty boast, that they were not aliens, were not offenders, but citizens of its own growth, and patriots of true renown and worth. Of such reversionary honours I own myself ambitious ; and, in order to succeed in the pursuit, have ever rendered my name illustrious in private life ; and as to my public behaviour, reflect, Athenians, whether I am inferior to any person whatever in performing good services to my country. For I am the person who, without throwing you into hazard or expense, have brought the strongest powers of Peloponnesus to act in your concurrence ; who reduted the Lacedæmonians to stake their all upon the fortune of one day at Mantinea. It is true they came off victorious from the contest, but have not even yet so far resumed their spirits as to dare to act offensively.

“ Such are the exploits which my greener years, nay, even that unnatural giddiness imputed to me, has achieved ; which, by insinuating language, has made the Peloponnesian strength to ply before it, and, giving energy to my frantic humour, has now persuaded the world that it is no longer to be dreaded ; while, therefore, I flourish in this manner, while Nicias yet continues to be esteemed fortunate, lay hold of that service we are each of us able to perform ; and by no means repeal the decree of our expedition to Sicily, as if intended against a people we are not able to encounter.

“ For in Sicily the cities swarm with crowds of promiscuous disunited inhabitants ; inhabitants for ever used to sudden revolutions and to perpetual fluctuations. And hence, not one of those crowds is equipped with such arms as are requisite to defend a native soil, or to secure even personal safety ; nor is the region supplied with the needful stores of resistance. It is the habit of each, either to execute his purpose by artful

language, or to wrest it from the public by sedition. These are all his resources ; and, if they fail, at the worst, he barely shifts his habitation. It is therefore improbable that a rabble, so jumbled together, will ever be unanimously guided by one concerted plan, or combine together for its just execution. Each moment they will be veering about to such expedients as happen most to sooth their caprice ; and the more, upon account of these seditions, in which, we are informed, they are already embroiled.

“ Their number of heavy-armed, it must also be observed, is not so large as the pompous accounts of fame have made it ; nor does the sum total of the Grecians among them turn out so considerable as each city has computed for her own. But Greece, in this manner, ever addicted most terribly to belie her own numbers, has been found, in the present war, scarce able to provide herself with arms.

“ Such, according to the best information I have been able, to collect, is the present condition of affairs in Sicily. Nay, there are means within our reach still more to facilitate its reduction. For we shall obtain the concurrence of many barbarians seated there, who, from inveteracy against the Syracusans, will join us to attack them. Neither can any obstacles accrue from the situation of our affairs nearer home, if you only view it in the just and proper light.

“ The bravery of our fathers, though opposed by the very same enemies who at present, it is urged, should we sail for Sicily, must be left behind us, though opposed by all the power of the Mede, erected this our empire by the sole resource of their superiority in naval power. The Peloponnesians, farther, have never had less hopes of being a match for us than at this very juncture, even though their strength be in all its maturity of vigour. It is true, they have it ever in their option to make inroads into our dominions, even though we waive this expedition ; but, at sea, they never can be able to hurt us ; the fleet we shall leave behind will be amply sufficient to make head against them.

“ By what plausible arguments, therefore, can we excuse our behaviour, should we now pusillanimously desist ? What evasion can we find to deny our confederates the succour they demanded ? We are bound in honour, by the oaths we have sworn, to undertake their redress. Unavailing is the pretext that they have never done such good offices for us. Our

alliance with them was not made on the condition of their sailing hither to bring us succour, but of giving such full employ to our enemies there as might effectually deter them from coming hither. The ready road to empire, as not Athenians only, but every people who have risen to a summit of power, by experience know, is ever to succour those who implore our protection, whether they be Greeks or barbarians. For, had it been the constant method to cherish indolent, inactive measures, or minutely to litigate who in justice ought to be protected, the enlargement of our empire had been but trifling, or rather we had been liable to the loss of our original portion. For a state invested with superior power is not only openly opposed in the field, but recourse is had to every precaution to prevent their appearance in it. Neither is it in our power to prescribe exact or arbitrary limitations to our own empire; but we are by necessity compelled to cabal against some, and with a high hand to keep others in subjection; because, should we relax our command over others, we endanger our own authority, and those we will not awe may become our masters. Nor, farther, ought peace to be so much the object of regard to you as it is to other people, unless you new-model your government, and render it conformable to that of your neighbours.

"Weigh therefore these arguments; and be convinced, that thus only our interest is capable of any considerable advancement; if we proceed against Sicily, and execute the expedition in order to deject the haughty Peloponnesian spirit, by so plain an instance how much we despise them, how little fond we are at present of this inactive interval, and how eager to begin again with a Sicilian voyage. And, by acting thus, there is probability on our side, that, in case we subdue the people there, we may gain the sovereignty over all Greece; or, at worst, we shall depress the Syracusan power: the latter point alone will be an important service to ourselves and our allies. But, in case any measure of success attends us, our ships will enable us to secure our acquisitions, or at worst our departure; for, though the whole body of the Sicilians combine together against us, we shall be absolute masters of our own retreat.

"Let not therefore the words of Nicias, calculated merely for the service of sloth, and to raise dissensions between the young and the old, disconcert your plan. But let the usual

decorum take place, observant of which our forefathers, at whose consultations both the seniors and the youths assisted; exalted this state to its present height; and do you now, adhering to the established practice, endeavour its farther exaltation. Remember also that youth and age, if debarred one another's reciprocal assistance, lose all their influence and weight; that, on the other hand, from the wildness of youth, and the moderation of the middle-aged, and the consummate prudence of the old, when tempered harmoniously together, the most perfect strength must infallibly result; that a state which supinely gives way to sloth, like other things, for want of exercise, must infallibly droop and pine away, and the whole of her skill grow old and obsolete; but, when inured to uninterrupted conflict, it is continually improving by practice, and will gain a perfect habit of surmounting every obstacle, not by a parade of words, but by active perseverance.

“Upon the whole, I am firmly convinced, that a state which has been accustomed to full employ must soon droop into destruction if it resigns itself to sloth; and that such persons take the best method of infallibly securing their welfare who adhere most steadily to their present customs and laws, though possibly better might be substituted in their stead.”

In this manner Alcibiades spoke. And the Athenians, moved by his arguments, which were also seconded by the entreaties of the Egestean and Leontine exiles, who, standing forth in the assembly, implored their protection, and, reminding them of their oaths, adjured them to redress their wrongs, declared for the expedition with a warmer zeal than at any time before. Nicias was convinced by this, that whatever dissuasion he could allege would be quite incapable to change their resolves. Yet, as possibly, by a minute detail of the immense preparations he was going to demand, he might cause them at once to change their sentiments, he stood up again, and readdressed them as follows:—

“I perceive, Athenians, that your resolutions are fixed on this expedition beyond the power of dissuasion; and may its event be such as your wishes portend! But I shall once more beg leave to communicate to you my own sense of the affair.

“According to the best information I have been able to procure, we are now going to invade a number of powerful cities; cities independent of one another, nor standing in need

of public revolutions, which people who cringe under the yoke of slavery might readily embrace, in order to render their condition more supportable. Nor is it, farther, to be presumed that they will readily exchange their own liberty for subjection to us, as they are numerous, at least for one island, and many of them inhabited by Grecians. For, without reckoning Naxos and Catana, which I hope, upon account of their affinity to the Leontines, will side with us, there are no less than seven provided in all respects with as good martial habiliments and stores as our own armies; and more particularly those against which we chiefly bend our course, Selinus and Syracuse. These cities abound with soldiers heavily-armed, with archers, and with darters. They have a great number of triremes, and plenty of hands to man them. They possess a large quantity of wealth, not only in private purses, but in their public treasuries. So rich are even the Selinuntians: and to the Syracusans, farther, a tribute is paid by several barbarians. But the points in which they most of all excel us, are, that numerous cavalry of which they are possessed, and corn of their own growth sufficient to answer all demands without foreign importations. An armament, therefore, simply naval, will by no means be sufficient to cope with such a strength. A large land-force must accompany the naval, if we are desirous of performing such achievements as may be worthy the greatness of our plan, and would not be debarred an opportunity of landing by their numerous cavalry. And this will be yet more needful, should the cities, alarmed at our approach, combine together against us, and no other friends but the Egeseans join us, or supply us with a body of cavalry sufficient to counterbalance our landing. It would be a terrible disgrace should we be compelled by force to give over our design, or to send for a larger supply, as if our counsels at first setting out were rash and ill concerted. We must steer at once against them with preparations in all respects well proportioned to the design, since we know that we are bound to a land far remote from our own, and are under many disadvantages to grapple with our foes. It will not be now your employment to march to the relief of your dependants seated near to Athens against a hostile invasion, where all the needful supplies would be brought to your camp out of the territories of friends: but you are to roam to a distant climate, where you cannot call

one inch of ground your own, and from whence, in the four winter months, you will scarcely be able to send a messenger to Athens.

"In my opinion, therefore, it is incumbent upon us to carry thither large parties of heavy-armed, to be raised out of our own citizens, our allies, and our dependants, and an additional strength of Peloponnesians, if we are able to procure it by persuasion or by pay. Our archers and slingers must be also numerous, that we may be able to make good our descent in spite of the Sicilian horse. We must also be attended by supernumerary vessels, that we may be enabled with greater ease to fetch in necessaries for our army. We must also carry with us from Athens, in our tenders, a great quantity of corn, such as wheat and barley parched; with bakers, some of whom, for certain wages, must be obliged to grind, that, if our armament lie anywhere weather-bound, we may not stand in need of the necessaries of life: for, so numerous as we must be, it will not be possible for every city to receive us. All other provisions must be laid in by ourselves to the utmost of our power, and we must trust for nothing to the care of others.

"But what concerns us most is, to carry from hence a fund of money as ample as we can raise. As for that which the Egeseans pretend is already laid up for our use, conclude it to be so only so far as words are current: for, unless we set out from Athens, not barely provided as well as those we are to encounter, but, equality in strength for battle alone excepted, in all other respects far surpassing them in every needful appointment, we shall hardly be able to reduce who are to be reduced, or even to protect who are to be protected. We should regard ourselves in the character of people who are going to seek a new settlement among aliens and enemies; and as such are necessitated to render themselves victors of the spot the very day they land; or to rest assured, if they then miscarry, that the whole of that region will be in arms against them. Of this I own myself afraid; against this I am convinced that by repeated consultations we ought timely to provide; and, after all, must trust still farther to the goodness of our fortune, hazardous, as we are but men. Yet hence, I should be glad to set out in this enterprise with as little occasion as possible to rely on uncertain fortune, and to be amply provided with every expedient for a successful

expedition; for these, to my apprehension, are the readiest means to secure the public welfare, and the safety of us who are destined for the voyage. But, if any man thinks my reasons chimerical, I am ready to resign my command to his superior abilities."

In this manner Nicias delivered himself, with a view, if possible, to discourage the Athenians from proceeding, by so vast a demand of articles requisite to the design; or at least, that, in case he must be obliged to undertake the service, he might set out with such ample expedients of security.

Yet all this bulky and embarrassing demand of appointments could not raise in the Athenians the least aversion to the expedition, but rather fastened their eagerness upon it more intensely than ever; and Nicias prevailed on that side of the question where he hoped to have been defeated. It was now universally agreed that his advice was just and proper; and, if obeyed, the expedition must be attended with all imaginable security. All ranks of men were now equally seized with a fondness for the voyage; for such as were advanced in years were confident that a career of success must attend the enterprise, and that so formidable an armament could not possibly miscarry; the younger sort were animated with the desire of seeing so remote a clime, and gratifying at large the curiosity of their tempers, assured that safety would attend their course; the bulk of the populace, and the soldiery in general, were pleased with their present assignment of pay, and the hope of enlarging dominion, which would afford them perpetual employ and subsistence. The passions of the generality were for these causes so vehemently elated with the project, that such as could by no means approve were afraid to oppose it by a vote, lest they might be censured as men who malevolently opposed the public glory. And by this all opposition was effectually quashed.

At length a certain Athenian, standing forth from among the crowd, and calling aloud upon Nicias, told him "he must no longer cast about for evasions, nor meditate delays; but declare expressly now, in the presence of them all, the particulars of the preparations which the Athenians should vote him."

Nicias, though sorry at his heart, was obliged to reply, that, "in order to be exact, he ought to consult more leisurely with his colleagues: but, so far as he could judge in

this sudden manner, they ought to set out with a fleet consisting of at least one hundred triremes ; that the Athenians themselves ought to furnish as many transports for heavy-armed soldiers as was possible, and to send for an additional number from their dependants ; that the number of heavy-armed, both of Athenians and dependants, should at least be five thousand, and, if possible, more ; that to these the rest of their preparations should be proportioned, such as archers to be levied at home, and procured also from Crete, not forgetting slingers ; and, in fine, that whatever should be judged in any degree expedient, should be provided in good time, and carried along with them in the fleet."

This the Athenians had no sooner heard, than they instantly voted "that the generals were invested with absolute authority to determine the numbers of the expedition, and the whole procedure of the voyage, at their own discretion, as might best promote the public welfare."

In pursuance of this, the preparations were immediately in hand. Summonses for the quotas adjusted were sent to their dependants, and the levies at home went briskly forward. Athens was now fully recovered from the pestilence and a long-continued destructive war ; both in a multitude of young men now arrived at the vigour of their age, and an increase of the public revenues by favour of the peace. By this means all the needful supplies were more easily provided : and thus were the Athenians busied for the present in fitting out their armament.

But, at this very juncture, almost all the statues of Mercury, wherever found within the precincts of Athens, and according to the established custom they were very numerous, both in the porches of private houses and the public temples, * * * * † had their faces disfigured in the space of one

† I have omitted two words in the original, because I cannot translate them with any precision or clearness. They are *η τετραγῶνος ἐργασία*, *opus quadratum*, says one Latin translator ; *opus ex lapide quadrato*, says another. Mr. Hobbes has it, Mercuries of square stone ; how such a description can be applicable to a statue will be hard to conceive. Whether they allude to the enclosure in which the statues were erected, or to the form of the pedestals, or whether a Mercury was carved on any or all the sides of a square stone, I am not able to decide. The Mercuries were very numerous ; and many of them, it is certain, were strange, uncouth, and very bungling performances

night. The authors of this outrage were not known; but large rewards were offered by the state in order to discover them, and a decree was also passed that, "If any person knew of the commission of any other impiety of the same nature; he should boldly inform the public of it, whether he were a citizen, or a foreigner, or a slave."

This accident, in truth, made a deep impression on their minds: for it was construed as a bad omen in regard to the expedition in hand, and as an evidence of some terrible combination to introduce innovations and an overthrow of the democracy.

An information was at length given in by some sojourners and their footmen, relating indeed not at all to the Mercuries, but to the defacements of other images committed formerly by some young men in a frolicsome and drunken mood; and now, farther, "they had celebrated the mysteries* in private houses by way of mockery;" and among others they also accused Alcibiades. The party most inveterate against him caught readily at this charge. As he was the main obstacle to the advancement of their own popularity and credit, they concluded that, in case they could rid themselves of him, they might at once become leaders of the state. Hence they aggravated the charge, and bellowed aloud that "those mystic frolics, and the defacements of the Mercuries, struck at the very foundations of the democracy; and that none of these outrageous acts had been committed without his participation." They alleged, as a circumstance that corroborated the charge, the whole tenour of his behaviour, flagrantly licentious, and quite inconsistent with a democratical constitution.

Alcibiades endeavoured forthwith to clear himself the best he could from all appearances of guilt, and declared himself ready, before he entered upon the voyage, to submit to a trial (for the armament was now almost completed), and, if proved to be guilty, to suffer the penalties of law; and only, if acquitted, to take upon him the command. He conjured

* The sacred mysteries celebrated by the Athenians at Eleusis. Plutarch relates, that the informers were brought in by one Androcles, a demagogue, a virulent foe of Alcibiades. They deposed, that one Theodorus acted the part of the crier, Polytion of the torch-bearer, Alcibiades that of the hierophant, and many of his intimates assisted and were initiated in solemn and formal mockery.

them, farther, "to receive no calumnious accusations against him in his absence ; but, if he was really guilty, to put him instantly to death : that, in common prudence, it could not be justified, to intrust a person so heavily charged with the command of so large an armament before his innocence had been regularly explored."

But his enemies, apprehensive that, in case he was brought to an immediate trial, he would be supported by all the favour of the soldiery ; and that the people, whose idol he was, might possibly relent, because in compliment to him the Argives and some of the Mantineans accompanied the expedition, opposed and put off the prosecution. They put the management of this point into the hands of a set of orators, who urged that "for the present he might proceed in his voyage, that the expedition ought not to be deferred on his account, and upon his return a day should be assigned for his trial." Their design was to gather more heavy matter against him, which in his absence could be more easily effected, and then to recall him and force him to his trial. In short, it was resolved that "Alcibiades should go the voyage."

Things being thus determined, and the year now advanced to the middle of summer, the fleet set sail for Sicily. Orders had been issued before for the bulk of the confederates, and victualling-ships, and small craft, and all the tenders in general, to repair to and assemble together at Corcyra ; that, from thence, in a body, they might cross the Ionian to the Cape of Japygia. But such as were subjects of Athens, and such of the confederates as were then in the city, marching down to the Piræus on the appointed day by morning's dawn, went on board the ships in order to weigh and be gone. They were conducted thither by a great crowd, it may be said by the whole crowd of Athens, both citizens and strangers. The former attended to perform the parting decorums where their several attachments claimed it ; some to their friends, some to their relations, and some to their own sons. The whole company moved along with a medley of hope and lamentation ; with hope, that success would attend their course ; with lamentation, lest they might never meet again. The sad recollection occurred—to how great a distance from their native soil they were going to be sent ! And, now that the hour of departure was come, and when this moment they were going to be dismissed into scenes of danger, the impres-

sions of terror were felt with much keener sense than when the expedition was only decreed. However, at the sight of their present strength, of the numerous expedients of a prosperous enterprise which their eyes beheld, their spirits were again elated.

As for the strangers and the bulk of the crowd, they attended merely for the pleasure of gazing at the means intended to accomplish a great and stupendous design : for never did any one state of Greece, before this time, equip by its own strength such a powerful armament. It was the finest and most glorious fleet that to this day the world had seen. It is true, in number of ships and heavy-armed on board, that which sailed against Epidaurus under command of Pericles, and that also against Potidæa under Agnon, were by no means inferior : for those carried four thousand heavy-armed soldiers, all native Athenians, with three hundred horsemen : the number of their triremes was a hundred ; fifty more were furnished by the Læbians and Chians, besides a large number of confederates who attended those expeditions. But then they were fitted for a voyage in comparison trifling, and in a slight and penurious manner.

On the contrary, the present equipment was calculated for a length of time, and completely fitted out for both services, as occasion might demand, either of the sea or of the land. The shipping, at the great expense of the captains of the several triremes and of the state, was quite elaborate. The pay assigned by the public to every mariner was a drachma* a day. The number of new ships for the battle and chase was sixty ; that of transports for the heavy-armed, forty. The several captains of the triremes were very choice in making up their crews, and gave to such of the mariners as rowed on the uppermost bench, and to the sailors, a gratuity out of their own pockets over and above the public pay. They had farther adorned their vessels with images and all kinds of sumptuous decorations. It was the high ambition of every single captain to have his own ship excel all the rest of the fleet in splendour and in swiftness.

The land-force was distinguished by the choiceness of their levies and their arms ; and all the individuals vied with one another in the goodness of their accoutrements and equipage whatsoever. It happened also on the same account that a

* 7 1-2d.

warm contention was kindled among them, under what officers they should be ranged ; and opportunity afforded to the rest of Greece to construe the whole into a mere ostentation of their power and opulence rather than an effective equipment against a foe ; for, were a computation to be formed, both of the public disbursements of the state on this occasion, and the private expenses of the whole soldiery ; of the state, what prodigious sums they had already advanced, and what additional sums the generals were to carry along with them ; of the soldiery, what each had expended on his own equipage, every captain on the decoration of his vessel, and to how much greater charges he was still liable ; without taking into the account the vast list of necessaries which, over and above the public allowance, each private person was obliged to lay in for so long a voyage, or the goods which a soldier or trader might take with him on board for the sake of traffic ; the amount of talents now carried out of Athens would turn out exceeding large.

Nor was it merely for the strangeness of the enterprise or the splendour of its show that the armament was noised abroad, but also for the numerous force with which it was provided to attack the foe ; for the remoteness of the voyage, great as ever they had undertaken from their native clime, and that prodigious expectation which was raised of the event, in order to which the state had now exerted itself quite beyond its strength.

When the whole force was got on board the fleet, when the stowage of all necessary stores and all baggage whatever was completely adjusted, silence then was proclaimed by sound of trumpet : but the solemn prayers for a successful expedition were not offered from every vessel apart, but in behalf of all united, by the voice of a herald. The goblets mingled with wine ran the circle of the whole armament, and every crew as well as the commanders poured out the libations, and drank success and happiness out of gold and silver cups. The whole crowd that stood upon the beach, both of citizens and such strangers as were there and wished them prosperity, joined with them in the public prayer. And now, the pæan being sung and the libation finished, they put out to sea.* After moving off at first in a line ahead, each vessel

* Many incidents are related by Plutarch, in the life of Nicias
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made afterward the best of her way to Ægina. And this armament made all possible haste to reach Corcyra, where the force of their allies by which they were to be joined was already assembled.

Though the intelligence of such an intended invasion had been brought to Syracuse from several quarters, yet for a long course of time they would yield no credit to its truth. Nay, more, when an assembly was convened, such speeches as follow were made by different persons; some believing the accounts received in relation to this armament of the Athenians, others pronouncing them absolutely false. On this occasion Hermocrates, the son of Hermon, standing forth in the assembly, and as one convinced in his own mind that all such accounts were true, addressed and advised his countrymen thus:—

“It will probably be my own fate, as it has been the fate of others, to be disbelieved, when I speak of this intended invasion as a matter of truth and certainty. And I also know by experience, that both those who vent and those

in regard to the denunciations of the priests against this expedition, the coining and wresting of oracles both for and against it, and omens which portended nothing but misfortune. Mere human foresight, and a consciousness that the means were not equal to the end proposed, gave the wisest and steadiest part of the Athenian community a sad apprehension of the event. Socrates constantly declared against it; and assured his friends it would draw after it the destruction of the state: this his presentiment soon became the public talk. Meton, the astronomer, who was named to a post of high rank in the expedition, feigned himself mad and set his house on fire. Others deny that circumstance of his counterfeiting madness, and say he set his house on fire by night, and appeared next morning on the forum in an abject manner, and begged of his fellow-citizens, in order to comfort him under so great a misfortune, to excuse his son, who was to have commanded a trireme, from going the voyage. An incident, farther, at the very time of the departure of the grand fleet, gave many persons vast concern. The women were then celebrating the rites of Adonis, in which many representations of deaths and funerals were exhibited all over Athens; and the women, according to custom, were making heavy moan and lamentation. This struck sad forebodings into people who laid stress on such incidents, that this expensive and mighty armament, though now so vigorous and magnificent, would soon moulder into ruin.

who retail such accounts of things as seem incredible, are so far from effectually persuading, that they generally incur the imputation of madness. Yet no such apprehensions shall intimidate or strike me dumb, when such a weight of danger hovers over my country; when in my own heart I am convinced that I am more clearly enlightened on the point than any other person whatever.

“For I assert that to be a matter of the highest certainty, which you hear only with a fit of stupid surprise, that the Athenians have already set sail against us with a numerous force, both for the service of the sea and the land. The pretext alleged by them is, execution of treaties with the Egæans, and the restoration of the Leontines; but the true motive is their ambition to enslave Sicily, and above all this our own Syracuse, which, if once reduced, they are well assured that nothing will be able afterward to give a check to their arms. Taking it therefore for granted that they will be immediately upon us, deliberate in what manner you may make the most gallant defence in the present posture of your strength: careful that through contempt you be not taken unprovided, nor through incredulity abandon the means of preservation. Nor, farther, let those who are convinced of their immediate appearance be terrified at the boldness or strength of their undertaking; for they will not be able to hurt us more than we shall be enabled to retaliate upon them. Nor are they more beyond our reach, because they invade us with so vast an armament; since this, in regard to the other Sicilians, will plead more abundantly in our cause; for, terrified at the foe, they will be disposed with higher warmth of friendship to co-operate with us. And if thus, in the train of affairs, we are either enabled to defeat their arms, or merely to force their return, their schemes unexecuted, and their ambition disappointed (for I am not in the least afraid that their sanguine expectations can be glutted with success), such events would reflect the highest glory upon you, and complete what I firmly nope.

“It is a truth, evinced by facts, that few considerable armaments of either Grecians or barbarians which have been sent out on remote expeditions, have returned successful. Nor, farther, are our present invaders more numerous than the Syracusans themselves, or their friends of the neighbouring states, whose strength mere hostile dread will cement and

bind fast together. If, therefore, though merely for want of needful supplies, they incur miscarriages on a foreign shore ; if they prove unsuccessful, though chiefly through their own misconduct, the whole honour must however rest with us, as if we had ruined their projects by art and management. Even these very Athenians were indebted to a parallel coincidence of events for the vast enlargement of their strength and empire, when the Mede, who gave out that he aimed the blow at Athens, was, contrary to all human expectation, disconcerted by a series of errors that were purely his own. And some such fortunate coincidence, in our own behalf, we have at present all imaginable reason to expect.

“ Let us, therefore, with active resolution, put our domestic affairs into a posture of defence, and despatch our ambassadors to the Siculi, to keep firm in our friendship such as are already our friends, and to endeavour to procure the friendship and concurrence of the rest. Nay, let our embassies regularly complete the whole circuit of Sicily, where they may represent the common danger which equally threatens them all. Let them, farther, cross over to Italy to procure for us their defensive alliance, or at least to negotiate a denial of reception to the Athenians. I also judge it advisable to send to Carthage : for even the Carthaginians are not exempted from the present dangers, but have been ever under apprehensions of receiving from them a visit at Carthage. It may perhaps effectually occur to their thoughts, that, should they now abandon us, the storm must soon extend itself to them ; by which they may be determined, either secretly or openly, by some expedient or other, to vindicate our cause. And, were their inclination equal to their power, no people on the globe could so easily redress us ; for they are possessed of an immensity of wealth, which gives an easy and prompt completion to the schemes of war and to every human enterprise. Let us send, farther, to Lacedæmon and Corinth, requesting the despatch of immediate succours hither, and the renewal of the war against the Athenians.

“ There is one point more, which in my opinion is more critical and important than all the rest : and which, though perhaps, inured as you are to domestic indolence, it may not gain your ready approbation, I shall however boldly recommend. Would all of us in general who are inhabitants of Sicily, or at least would only we Syracusans, with what

other people we can get to assist us, put out instantly to sea with all the ships we have in readiness, and victualled but for the space of two months ; would we then give these Athenians the meeting either at Tarentum or Cape Japygia, and there convince them, that, before they enter the lists of war for the conquest of Sicily, they must fight for their passage across the Ionian ; we should then strike them with the utmost terror, and infinitely perplex them with the thought that from a friendly port we shall sally forth to guard our out-works (for Tarentum will readily receive us), while they have a long tract of sea to pass with all their cumbersome train, and must find it hard, through so long a voyage, to be always steering in the regular order. As their course must thus be slow, and must advance only in exact conformity to orders, we should have a thousand opportunities to attack them. If again they clear their ships for action, and in a body bear down expeditiously upon us, they must ply hard at their oars ; and, when spent with their toil, we can fall upon them. Or, in case that may not be judged advisable, we have it always in our power to retire into the harbour of Tarentum. And thus the Athenians, if, in constant expectation of being fought with at sea, they must make their passage with a small portion only of their stores, will be reduced to great distress on coasts which will afford them no supply. Should they choose to continue in their station, they must infallibly be blocked up in it. Should they venture a passage, they must unavoidably leave their tenders and store-ships behind : and, as they have no assurance of a hearty reception from the cities on the coasts, must be terribly dismayed.

“ It is my firm opinion that, amid that great perplexity of thought which must result from these obstructions, they will never presume to sail from Corcyra ; or, at least, while they are agitating the forms of procedure, and sending out spy-boats to discover our numbers and position, the season of the year must be protracted to winter ; or, utterly dispirited at so unexpected a resistance, they will give up the voyage. This I more readily expect, as I am informed that their most experienced commander has been forced into office against his inclination, and would gladly lay hold of the pretext to desist, if such a show of resistance could be made by us as would preserve his honour from suspicion. And I am perfectly convinced that rumour will increase and aggravate our strength.

Now the sentiments of mankind are 'constantly adjusted by rumours : parity of danger is supposed, when an enemy declares he is ready to begin the attack ; and such an enemy is always more dreaded than he who betrays an intention merely to defend himself against an enemy's assaults. Such excess of fear must now fall to the lot of the Athenians. They are invading us, with the fond presumption that we shall not fight. They think they have grounds for such a presumption, because we have not concurred with the Lacedæmonians in their demolition. But when, to their bitter disappointment, they find we have the courage to act offensively, the suddenness of our efforts will terrify them more than all the reality of our expected strength could have done.

"Determine therefore to execute with bold and ready resolution the plan I have proposed ; or, if this must not prevail, with the utmost expedition to get all things at home in readiness for war. And let each Syracusan be firmly convinced, that contempt of an enemy ought never to be shown but in the heat of action ; that the conduct of those men must tend most highly to the public preservation, who, alarmed by a decent fear, judge it needful to prepare with all caution and alacrity, as if the danger was instant at our doors. But these our enemies are actually coming ; they are already (I know it well) upon the voyage ; they are this moment only not in sight."

In this manner Hermocrates spoke his sentiments. But the popular assembly of the Syracusans was embroiled with much variance and contention. One party cried out that "It was all a joke ; the Athenians durst not think of invading them." Another, "Hermocrates had truth and reason on his side." A third, "Let them come ; what damage can they do us which we are not able heartily to repay them ?" Others betrayed an open contempt of the whole account, and laughed at it as downright ridiculous. The party was but small which gave credit to Hermocrates, and trembled for the future. At length Athenagoras stood up, who, being the first magistrate of the people, and whose credit at this time was highest with them, delivered himself as follows :—

"The man who wishes the Athenians may not be so mad as to come hither and run themselves headlong into our subjection, is either a coward or traitor to his country. But for those who vent such news, and endeavour to frighten you by

the terrible recital, at their audaciousness, truly, I am not in the least surprised ; but I am greatly so at their folly, if they imagine their views can escape detection ! Poor abject souls ! quite dispirited within through their own pusillanimity, are glad to spread consternation throughout a whole community ; that, under the general panic, their own may lie veiled and undistinguished. And such is the effect which the present informations may be ready to produce ; not from any grounds of truth and certainty, but the fictions and falsehoods of an iniquitous cabal, who are ever dabbling in the practices of faction.

“ But you, Syracusans, I exhort to apply your good sense on this occasion, and search after probability ; not by considering such accounts as these men have pompously detailed, but such enterprises as a wise and abundantly enlightened people (for such I esteem the Athenians) are likely to undertake. For what probability is there, that, leaving the Peloponnesians on their backs, when the war at home is not yet brought to any settled conclusion, they would wilfully embark in another of no less importance ? For my part, I am persuaded they rest well contented, that, so many and so powerful states as we Sicilians are, we have not yet thought proper to invade them.

“ But, allowing these informations to be true, and that they are actually coming, I am firmly persuaded that Sicily is better able than Peloponnesus to war them down, by how much in all respects it is better furnished with every resource of war ; and that this our Syracuse alone is far superior in strength to that, nay, double that armament, which by report now threatens its invasion. For I know, assuredly, that no horse can follow in their train ; that, farther, none can be procured for them in this country, if we abate an inconsiderable party which the Egestians may furnish. And I know that a body of heavy-armed, equal in number to our own, can never be transported by them across such a length of sea. The enterprise is bold indeed, to attempt so long a voyage hither with only light and nimble ships, and to bring all those military stores, the roll of which must be excessively large, in order to attack so great a city. Shall I therefore be terrified at vain reports ? I, who am firmly persuaded that, if the Athenians were possessed of a city on our coasts as considerable in all respects as Syracuse itself, and should dare to provoke us ; if,

masters of the neighbouring territory, they should from thence make war upon us ; even with such advantages they would with difficulty escape a total destruction. And what therefore, in all human probability, must be their fate, when all Sicily to a man will be combined to oppose them ? For now their war must issue from a camp on the beach of the sea, of which their ships must form the ramparts. They will not be able to make long excursions from their tents and magazines of needful stores, as our cavalry will bridle and control them. But, in short, it is my firm opinion that they never will be able to accomplish a descent, so far am I convinced that our force is in all respects superior.

“ I am well persuaded that all those obstacles which I have hitherto recited, their own wise reflections have suggested to the remembrance of the Athenians, and deterred them from hazarding their own ruin ; and that our own malecontents amuse us with fictitious accounts of things that neither have nor can have existence. This is by no means the first occasion on which I have been able to detect their schemes. I am no stranger to their constant attempts of fomenting faction, ever intent as they are, by forgeries like these, or more malicious than these, or even by the open efforts of sedition, to strike a panic among the Syracusan people, and to seize the helm of your government. And I have reason to apprehend that, among the many projects they attempt, some one at length may be fatally successful. But this must be charged to our own pusillanimity, who exert no precautions to avert impending miseries, nor bravely oppose the storm, though we perceive it to be gathering around us. And from hence it unavoidably results, that our state is seldom blessed with a season of tranquillity, but feels the bitter lot of sedition on sedition, of more numerous struggles against factions within than public hostilities without ; nay, sometimes tyranny and despotic rule have been our portion.

“ To guard the present times from such disastrous contingences shall be my constant endeavour ; and, if favoured with your concurrence, my care shall be successful. To this end I must prevail upon you, who are the many, to co-operate with me, while I inflict upon these artificers of faction the punishment they deserve, not barely for overt commissions (for in these they are not easily caught), but for all the treacherous plots which, how desirous soever, they are not able to

execute: for we are not only to award our vengeance on the open outrages of an enemy, but to disarm his malice by wise precaution; because the man who will not thus in time disarm it, will feel its blow before he is aware.

“On the few I have also to bestow, partly some reproofs, partly some cautions, and partly some instructions: for chiefly by these methods I judge it feasible to deter them from their factious designs. Let me therefore request from you, ye youths of Syracuse, the solution of a point which has frequently occurred to my own imagination. What is it you would have? An immediate possession of the government of your country? Why, the very laws of that country declare you incapable of it: and these very laws were intended rather to exclude you, so long as you are unequal, than to give you a disgraceful rejection when you shall be equal, to the trust. But, farther, are you not piqued at heart at being placed upon the same rank and level with the bulk of your fellow-citizens? And where would be the justice in awarding distinctions of honour and trust to those who are in no respect differenced from others? It may perhaps be urged, that a democracy is repugnant to the dictates both of wisdom and justice; that the most opulent members of a state are entitled to its highest honours, are best able to superintend the public welfare. But to this I reply, that, in the first place, by the word people is signified a whole community, including its every individual; but an oligarchy means only a party; in the next place, that men of opulence are the most suitable guardians of the public treasure; that men of understanding and experience are best qualified to advise; but the many, after hearing, are the best judges of measures. And thus, by a democracy, equality of right and of privilege is most fairly preserved, as well to the separate members as to the whole community. An oligarchy indeed bestows an ample portion of dangers on the many; but in beneficial points it not only assumes the larger share to itself, but by an unbounded rapacity monopolizeth the public harvest. These are the ends which the men of power and the raw inexperienced youths among you ambitiously pursue; ends incompatible with the welfare of a great and flourishing state. The accomplishment of these, I say, you have this very moment in agitation; though the world cannot furnish such a set of fools, if you perceive not the pernicious tendency of your

schemes. Nor can any set of Grecians, within my knowledge, equal either your brutality or your villany, if with open eyes you dare proceed. Lay hold then at once of sound information, or repent if already informed, and unite in the infallible advancement of the general welfare of the whole community. And let the men of probity among you rest perfectly satisfied, that thus they shall obtain a proper share, nay, more than a share, in those emoluments, which will equally redound to all their country. But, in case you give into different schemes, the hazard is great; the whole of your plan will be baffled and confounded.

"Trouble us therefore no farther with your informations, as we are privy to and shall certainly disconcert the views of their authors: for the Syracusan state, even though the Athenians actually invade us, will repel their efforts with a magnanimity worthy of herself; and we have already a set of brave commanders, who will effectually manage the point. But, if not one tittle of these intended invasions be true, which is my firm opinion, the state will not be struck into a panic by your rumours, will never place the command of her forces in your hands, so as to rivet a voluntary servitude upon herself. She, on the contrary, will exert her own vigilance and discretion; she will interpret the rumours you have spread as so many acts against her welfare, and will not give up her liberty to accounts expressly forged to terrify the ear; but, aware in time, by no means to intrust herself into your management, will leave no possible method of defence untried."

Thus spoke Athenagoras. But here one of the generals rising up, prevented any other person from continuing the debate, and put an end to the present heats by delivering himself thus:—

"It is contrary to all decorum, both for those who speak to pour forth calumniations against one another, and for those who hear to receive them with attention. At present, we are rather concerned to yield regard to the informations which are brought us, that every individual in this community may be timely prepared to repel the invaders. And, if this should prove at last to be mere superfluity of care, yet what harm can possibly accrue from such an equipment of the state with horses, and arms, and such other habiliments as are the glory of war? We ourselves shall take all proper care of the provisions of war and the levy of soldiers; and

at the same time shall circulate our messengers to the cities around us, and watch the appearance of the foe; and shall expedite every point judged needful in the present emergency. Some care of these points has already been taken; and what more we shall perceive to be expedient, we shall on the proper occasions communicate to you."

When the general had expressed himself thus, the Syracusans broke up the assembly and departed.

The Athenians, with the re-enforcements of their allies, were by this time all arrived at Corcyra. And the first thing done by the commanders was to take a review of the whole equipment, and to settle the order in which they were to anchor and form their naval station. They also divided it into three squadrons, and cast lots for the command of each: to the end that, in the course of the voyage, they might be well supplied with water, and harbours, and the proper necessities, wherever they might chance to put in; that, in other respects, a better discipline might be kept up, and the men be more inured to a ready obedience, as being under the inspection of an able commander in each several division. These points being settled, they despatched three vessels to Italy and Sicily, to pick up information what cities on those coasts would give them a reception. And their orders were, to come back in time and meet them upon the voyage, that they might be advertised into what ports they might safely enter.

These previous points being adjusted, the Athenians, with an equipment already swelled to so great a bulk, weighing anchor from Corcyra, stood across for Sicily. The total of their triremes was a hundred and thirty-four, to which were added two Rhodian vessels of fifty oars. One hundred of these were Athenian, and of this number sixty were tight ships fit for service; the rest were transports for the soldiery. The remainder of the fleet consisted of Chians and the other allies. The total of the heavy-armed on board was five thousand one hundred men. Of these, fifteen hundred were citizens of Athens enrolled; seven hundred were Athenians of the lowest class (called Thetes), who served by way of marines. The rest of the force consisted of the quotas of their alliance; some, of their own dependants; five hundred belonged to the Argives; the number of Mantineans and mercenaries was two hundred and fifty; the archers in the

whole amounted to four hundred and eighty ; and of these, eighty were Cretans. There were seven hundred Rhodian slingers, and a hundred and twenty light-armed Megarean exiles : and one horse-transport attended, which carried thirty horsemen.

So great an equipment sailed out at first to begin the war : and, in the train of this equipment, went thirty storeships laden with corn, and carrying on board the bakers, and masons, and carpenters, and all things requisite in the works of fortification ; and also a hundred sail of small vessels, which necessity demanded to attend the ships that carried the stores. A large number also of small craft and trading-vessels sailed voluntarily in company with the fleet, for the sake of traffic : all which now, in one collected body, stood away from Corcyra across the Ionian gulf.

The whole armament being got over to Cape Japygia ; or to Tarentum, as they severally could make the passage, sailed along the coast of Italy, where not one city would receive them, would grant them a market, or suffer them to land, barely permitting them to anchor and to water, though at Tarentum and Locri even that was denied them, till they arrived at Rhegium, a promontory of Italy. At Rhegium the whole fleet was now assembled ; and without the city (for an admission into it was refused them) they formed an encampment within the verge of Diana's temple, where also they were accommodated by the Rhegians with a market.

Here, having drawn their vessels on shore, they lay some time for refreshment ; and had a conference with the Rhegians, in which they pressed them, as they were of Chalcidic descent, to succour the Leontines, who were also Chalcideans. Their answer was, that " they should side with neither party ; but, whatever measures were judged expedient by the other Italians, they should conform to those." The Athenians' councils were now solely bent on the affairs of Sicily, in what manner they might most successfully make their approaches. They also waited for the return of the three vessels from Eggesta, which had previously been despatched thither : long-
ing earnestly for a report about the state of their treasure, whether it was really such as their envoys at Athens had represented.

To the Syracusans, in the meantime, undoubted advice is brought from several quarters, and by their own spies, that

"the fleet of the enemy lay at Rhegium." The truth of this being uncontested, they prepared for their defence with the utmost attention, and were no longer duped by incredulity. They also sent about to the Siculi; to some places, their agents, who were to keep a watchful eye upon their conduct; and to others, ambassadors; and into those towns upon the coast which were exposed to a descent, they threw a garrison. In Syracuse, they examined if the city was provided with the proper means of a defence, by a careful inspection of the arms and the horses; and all other points were properly adjusted, as against a war coming swiftly upon them, and only not already present.

The three vessels detached beforehand to Egesta rejoined the Athenians, yet lying at Rhegium, with a report that "the great sums which had been promised them were quite annihilated, since they saw only thirty talents* in specie." Upon this the commanders were instantly seized with a dejection of spirit, because their first hope was thus terribly blasted; and the Rhegians had refused to concur with their attempts, upon whom they had made their first essay of persuasion, and with whom they had the greatest probability of success, as they were by blood allied to the Leontines, and had ever shown themselves well disposed to the Athenian state. The Egestean affair had indeed taken no other turn than what Nicias fully expected, but the other two commanders were quite amazed and confounded at it.

The trick made use of by the Egesteans, at the time that the first embassy went thither from Athens to take a survey of their treasures, was this: Having conducted them into the temple of Venus at Eryx, they showed the offerings deposited there, the cups, the flagons, and the censers, and the other furniture of the temple, in quantity by no means small. These, being all of silver, presented to the eye a vast show of wealth, far beyond their intrinsic value. Having also made entertainments in private houses for those who came in the vessels of the embassy, they amassed together all the gold and silver cups of Egesta: they borrowed others from the adjacent cities, as well Phœnician as Grecian; they carried their guests about from one house of feasting to another; and each exhibited them as his own property. Thus, all of them dis-

* 5812*l*. 10*s*. sterling.

playing generally the same vessels, and great abundance appearing at every place, the Athenians who made the voyage were prodigiously surprised at the splendid shows. Hence it was that, on their return to Athens, they enlarged with a kind of emulation which should magnify it most, on the immensity of wealth they had seen at Egæta. In this manner, being deceived themselves, they obtruded the same fallacy upon others; but now, when the true account was spread among them, that "there was no such wealth at Egæta," they were much censured and reproached by the soldiers.

The generals, however, held a consultation about the methods of proceeding. And here it was the opinion of Nicias, "that with their whole armament they should stand immediately against Selinus, the reduction of which was the principal motive of the expedition; and, in case the Egæstians would furnish the whole armament with the proper supplies of money, their councils might then be regulated accordingly; but, otherwise, they should insist on their maintaining the sixty sail of ships which had been sent expressly at their own request; then, abiding by them, they should reconcile their differences with the Selinuntians, either by force of arms or negotiation: they afterward might visit other cities, and display before them the mighty power of the Athenian state; and, having given such conspicuous proofs of their alacrity to support their friends and allies, might return to Athens; provided that no sudden and unexpected turn of affairs might give them opportunity to do service to the Leontines, or bring over some other cities to their interest; ever intent not to bring their own state into danger by a needless profusion of blood and treasure."

Alcibiades declared "That it could never be justified, if, after putting to sea with so great an armament, they should return with disgrace, and no effectual service done to their country; that, on the contrary, they ought, by heralds despatched expressly, to notify their arrival in these parts to all the cities except Selinus and Syracuse; that, farther, they should try what could be done with the Siculi, in order to persuade some of them to revolt from the Syracusans, and to strike up treaties of alliance and friendship with others, that so they might provide a resource of provisions and re-enforcements; that the first trial of this kind should be made upon the Messenians, who lay in the finest situation for favouring

their passage and descent into Sicily, which must open to them the most convenient harbour and station for their armament: thus, gaining the concurrence of the cities, and certain from whom they might depend upon assistance, the way would then be open for them to make attempts upon Syracuse and Selinus, in case the former refused to make up the quarrel with the Egesteans, and the latter to suffer the re-plantation of the Leontines."

The opinion of Lamachus was diametrically opposite, since he advised it "to be the most judicious measure to stand at once against Syracuse, and to try their fortune before that city with the utmost expedition, while they were yet not competently provided for resistance, and their consternation was still in its height: because every hostile force is always most terrible on its first approach; and, in case it protract the time of encountering the eyes of its foes, they must recover their courage through familiarity with danger, and then the sight of an enemy is more apt to inspire contempt: but, should they assault them on a sudden while yet their approach is with terror expected, the victory must infallibly be their own: in this case, all things would co-operate with them to terrify the foe; such as, the sight of their numbers, which now only could appear in their greatest enlargement; the forebodings of their hearts what miseries were likely to ensue; and, above all, the instant necessity they must lie under of hazarding a battle: that, moreover, it was likely that numbers of the enemy might be surprised yet roaming abroad in the adjacent country, as still they were incredulous of the approach of the Athenians: or, even though the Syracusans were safely retired with all their effects into the city, the army must needs become masters of prodigious wealth. If they should besiege the city and awe all around it; that by taking this step, the other Sicilians would be more discouraged from succouring the Syracusans, and more easily inclined to concur with the Athenians, and all shifts and delays to keep clear of the contest, till one side was manifestly superior, would be precluded." He added farther, that "they should take care to possess themselves of Megara, which was now deserted, and not far from Syracuse either by sea or land, as it would afford a fine station for their ships to lie in, would shelter them upon a retreat, and give expedition to their approaches."

But, though Lamachus delivered his sentiments thus, he soon gave up his own opinion and went over to that of Alcibiades. And, in pursuance of this, Alcibiades with his own single ship passed over to Messene; and, having gained a conference with the Messenians about an alliance offensive and defensive, when no arguments he brought could persuade; when, on the contrary, they returned this answer, that "into their city they would not receive them, though they were ready to accommodate them with a market without the walls," he repassed to Rhegium; and immediately the generals, having manned out sixty ships with the choicest hands of the whole fleet, and taken in a requisite stock of subsistence, steered away for Naxos, leaving the rest of the armament at Rhegium under the care of one of those in the commission.

After a reception granted them into their city by the Naxians, they stood away from thence to Catana; and, when the Cataneans refused to receive them (for in that city was a party strongly attached to the Syracusans), they put into the river Terias. After a night's continuance there, the next day they sailed for Syracuse; keeping the rest of the fleet ready ranged in a line of battle ahead. But they had detached ten beforehand, who were ordered to enter the great harbour of Syracuse, and to examine what naval force lay there ready launched for service, and to proclaim from their decks as they passed along the shore—that "the Athenians are come into those parts to replace the Leontines in their own territory, as they were bound in point both of alliance and consanguinity; that whatever Leontines therefore were now residing at Syracusæ, should without fear come over to the Athenians, as friends and benefactors."

When the proclamation had been made, and they had taken a view of the city and its harbours, and of the adjacent ground, what spots were most convenient for a descent and the commencement of the war, they sailed back again to Catana. A council of war had been held in that city, and the Cataneans were come to a resolution "not to receive the armament;" but, however, they granted an audience to the generals. At which, while Alcibiades harangued, and the inhabitants of Catana were all in the public assembly, the Athenian soldiers, without giving any alarm, pulled down a little gate of a very sorry structure, and then, entering the

city, walked up and down in the market. But such of the Cataneans as were of the Syracusan party no sooner found that the army was got in, than, struck into a sudden consternation, they stole presently out of the city. The number of these was but trifling. The rest of the inhabitants decreed an alliance with the Athenians, and encouraged them to fetch over the remainder of their armament from Rhegium.

This point being carried, the Athenians, having passed to Rhegium, were soon with the whole of their fleet under sail for Catana, and, on their arrival there, they formed a proper station for their ships and men.

But now intelligence was brought them from Camarina, that "if they would come to countenance them, that city would declare on their side;" and that "the Syracusans are busy in manning their fleet." With the whole armament therefore they steered along the coast, touching first at Syracuse. And, when they found that no fleet was there in readiness to put to sea, they stood off again for Camarina; and there, approaching the shore, they notified their arrival by the voice of a herald. Admittance was however refused them, the Camarineans alleging that "they were bound by solemn oaths to receive only one single ship of the Athenians, unless of their own accord they should require a larger number." Thus disappointed, they put out again to sea; and, having made a descent on some part of the Syracusan territory, they picked up a booty, till the Syracusan cavalry making head against them, and cutting off some of their light-armed who had straggled to a distance, they re-embarked, and went again to Catana.

On their return thither they found the Salaminian arrived from Athens to fetch back Alcibiades, by public order of the state, to take his trial for the crimes charged against him by his country, and also some others of the soldiery who attended him in the expedition, against whom informations had been given that they were guilty of impiety in the affair of the mysteries, and against some of them in that of the Mercuries: for the Athenians, after the departure of the fleet, continued to make as strict an inquisition as ever into the crimes committed in regard to the mysteries, and also in regard to the Mercuries. What sort of persons the informers were, was no part of their concern; but, in the height of jealousy, giving credit indiscriminately to all, through too great a deference

to men of profligate and abandoned lives, they apprehended and threw into prison the most worthy citizens of Athens ; esteeming it more prudent by pains and tortures to detect the fact, than that a person of irreproachable character, when once accused through the villany of an informer, should escape without the question : for the people, having learned by tradition how grievous the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons became at last ; and, what is more, that it was not overthrown by themselves and Harmodius, but by the industry of the Lacedæmonians, lived in a constant dread of such another usurpation, and beheld all these incidents now with most suspicious eyes. But, in fact, the bold attempt of Harmodius and Aristogiton took its rise merely from a competition in love ; the particulars of which I shall here unfold more largely, to convince the world, that no other people, no, not even the Athenians themselves, have any certain account, either relating to their own tyrants or the transactions of that period.

The truth is, that Pisistratus dying possessed of the tyranny in a good old age, not Hipparchus, as is generally thought, but Hippias, the eldest of his sons, was his successor in power. Harmodius being at this time in the flower of his youth and beauty, Aristogiton, a citizen of Athens, nay, a citizen of the middle rank, doted upon and had him in his possession. But, some attempts having been made upon Harmodius by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, he rejected his solicitations, and discovered the whole affair to Aristogiton. The latter received the account with all that anguish which a warm affection feels ; and, alarmed at the great power of Hipparchus, lest by force he might seize the youth, he instantly forms a project, a project as notable as his rank in life would permit, to demolish the tyranny ; and, in the meantime, Hipparchus, who, after making a second attempt upon Harmodius, was equally unsuccessful in his suit, could not prevail upon himself to make use of force ; but, however, determined upon some remote occasion which might cover his real design from detection, and was actually studying an opportunity to dishonour the youth : for the power he had was never exerted in such a manner as to draw upon him the popular hatred, and his deportment was neither invidious nor distasteful. Nay, for the most part, this set of tyrants were exact observers of the rules of virtue and discretion. They

exacted from the Athenians only a twentieth of their revenue; they beautified and adorned the city; took upon themselves the whole conduct of the wars; and presided over the religious sacrifices. In other respects, the state was governed by the laws already established, except that they always exerted their influence to place their own creatures in the first offices of the government. Several of their own family enjoyed the annual office of archon at Athens; and, among others, Pisistratus, the son of Hippias the tyrant, who bore the same name with his grandfather, and, in his archonship, dedicated the altar of the twelve gods in the public forum, and that of Apollo in the temple of the Pythian. The people of Athens, having since made additions to it in order to enlarge the altar in the forum, by that means effaced the inscription: but that in the Pythian is yet legible, though the letters are wearing out apace, and runs thus:—

“Pisistratus, from Hippias born,
Of Pythian Phœbus, radiant god of day,
Chose thus the temple to adorn,
And thus record his own superior sway.”

But, farther, that Hippias succeeded in the government as the eldest son, I myself can positively aver; as I know it to be so, and have examined all the accounts of tradition with much greater accuracy than others: but any one may be convinced of the fact by what I am going to subjoin.—Now, we have abundant light to prove that he was the only one of the legitimate brothers who had any sons. So much the altar attests, and the column erected for a perpetual brand of the injustice of the tyrants in the citadel of Athens. In the latter, the inscription makes no mention of any son, of either Thessalus or Hipparchus; but names five sons of Hippias, who were brought him by Myrrhine, the daughter of Callias, the son of Hyperochidas. It is certainly most probable that the eldest son was married first; nay, he is named the first after his father on the upper part of the column. And there were good reasons for this preference; because his seniority gave him this rank; and because he succeeded to the tyranny. Nor can it in any light seem probable to me, that Hippias, on a sudden and with ease, could have seized the tyranny, had Hipparchus died when invested with it, and he had only day's time to effect his own establishment. The reverse

is the truth ; that, having for a length of time been familiarized to the expectation, having rendered himself awful to the citizens, and being supported by vigilant and trusty guards, he received and enjoyed his power with abundant security. He never had cause, as a younger brother must have had, to work his way through perplexities and dangers, as in that case he could not by practice have been made an adept in the affairs of government ; but it was accidental, and owing entirely to subsequent misfortunes, that Hipparchus got the title, and passed in the opinion of succeeding ages for one of the tyrants.

On Harmodius, therefore, who was deaf to his solicitations, he executed his resentment in the manner predetermined : for, a summons having been delivered to a sister of his, a young virgin, to attend and carry the basket in some public procession, they afterward rejected her ; alleging she never had nor could have been summoned, because she was unworthy of the honour. This affront highly provoked Harmodius ; but Aristogiton, out of zeal for him, was far more exasperated at it. The points needful to their intended revenge were concerted with the party who concurred in the design ; but they waited for the great Panathenæa to strike the blow ; on which festival alone, without incurring suspicion, such of the citizens as assisted in the procession might be armed and gathered together in numbers. It was settled that they themselves should begin ; and then, the body of their accomplices were to undertake their protection against the guards of the tyrant's family.

The persons made privy to this design were but few, from a view to a more secure execution of it : for they presumed that even such as were not in the secret, when the attempt was once in whatever manner begun, finding themselves armed, would seize the opportunity, and readily concur to assert their own freedom. When therefore the festival was come, Hippias, repairing without the walls to the place called Ceramicus, and there attended by his guards, was prescribing and adjusting the order of the procession. Harmodius and Aristogiton, each armed with a dagger, advanced to execute their parts ; but, when they saw one of their accomplices in familiar conversation with Hippias, for Hippias was affable and courteous to all men, they were struck with fear ; they imagined the whole of their plot had been betrayed, and that

already they were only not apprehended. Now, therefore, by a sudden turn of resolution, they determined, if possible, to snatch a timely revenge upon him by whom they were aggrieved, and on whose account they had embarked into so dangerous an affair. In this hurry of thought they rushed back into the city, and met with Hipparchus at the place called Leocorium; where, without any regard to their own safety, they made an instant assault upon him. And thus, in all the fury of passion, one actuated by jealousy, and the other by resentment, they wounded and killed him. As the people immediately ran together, Aristogiton, by favour of the course, escaped for the present, but, being afterward seized, was unmercifully treated: but Harmodius was instantly slain on the spot.

The news of this assassination being carried to Hippias at the Ceramicus, he moved off immediately; not to the scene of action, but towards the armed accomplices in the procession, before they could be informed of the fact, as they were stationed at a distance. He artfully suppressed on his countenance all sense of the calamity; and, pointing to a certain spot, commanded them aloud to throw down their arms and file off thither. This command they obeyed, expecting he had something to communicate to them. But Hippias, addressing himself to his guards, orders them to take away those arms. He then picked out, man by man, from among them, such as he designed to put to the question, and all upon whom a dagger was found: for, by ancient custom, they were to make the procession with a spear and a shield.

In this manner truly, from the anguish of irritated love,*

And yet, so violently were tyrants detested at Athens, that the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton was ever after honoured there, as martyrs for liberty and first authors of the ruin of tyrants. Their praises were publicly sung at the great Panathenæa. No slave was ever called by their names. Praxiteles was employed to cast their statues, which were afterward set up in the forum: Xerxes indeed carried them away into Persia, but Alexander afterward sent them back to Athens. Plutarch has preserved a smart reply of Antipho the orator, who will appear in this history, to the elder Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. The latter had put the question, which was the finest kind of brass? "That," replied Antipho, "of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made."

this conspiracy took its rise, and this desperate attempt was executed by Harmodius and Aristogiton, from the impulse of a sudden consternation. But, after this, the tyranny became more grievous upon the Athenians. Hippias, who was now more than ever alarmed, put many of the citizens to death, and cast his thoughts about towards foreign powers, to secure himself an asylum abroad in case of a total reverse at home. To Æantidas therefore, the son of Hippoclus, tyrant of Lampsacus; to a Lampsacene, though he himself was an Athenian, he married his daughter Archedice, knowing that family to have a powerful interest with King Darius; and the monument of that lady is now at Lampsacus, and has this inscription:—

“From Hippias sprung, with regal power array’d,
Within this earth Archedice is laid;
By father, husband, brothers, sons, allied
To haughty thrones, yet never stain’d with pride.”

For the space of three years after this, Hippias continued in possession of the tyranny at Athens; but, being deposed in the fourth by the Lacedæmonians, and the exiled Alcæonidæ, he retired by agreement to Sigæum; from thence to Æantidas at Lampsacus; and from thence to King Darius: and, with a command under him, he marched twenty years after to Marathon; and, though much advanced in years, served in that war with the Medes.

The people of Athens, reflecting on these past transactions, and recollecting all the dismal narratives about them which tradition had handed down, treated with great severity and deep suspicions all such as were informed against in relation to the mysteries: and they construed the whole procedure as the dawning of a plot to erect an oligarchical and tyrannic power. And, as their passions were inflamed by such apprehensions, many worthy and valuable citizens were already thrown into prison. Nay, it seemed as if their inquisition was to have no end, since from day to day their indignation gave into more increasing severity, and numbers were constantly arrested. Here, one of those* who had been impris-

* This person, according to Plutarch in Alcibiades, was Andocides the orator, a man always reckoned of the oligarchical faction: and one Timæus, his intimate friend, who was a man of small consideration at Athens, but remarkable for a penetrating and enterprising genius, was the person who persuaded him to turn informer.

oned on suspicion, and a suspicion too of being deeply concerned in the crime, is persuaded, by one of his fellow-prisoners, to turn an evidence, no matter whether of truth or falsehood. Many conjectures have passed on both sides; but no one, neither at that time nor since, has been able to discover the men who were really concerned in the affair. The argument which prevailed upon this person was, "the necessity for his taking such a step, even though he had no hand in the commission, since by this he would infallibly procure his own safety, and deliver the city from its present confusion: for he must be much more secure of saving his life by such voluntary confession on a promise of indemnity, than he could possibly be should he persist in an avowal of his innocence, and be brought to a trial." In short, this man became an evidence, both against himself and against others, in the affair of the Mercuries.

Great was the joy of the Athenian people at this, as it was thought, undoubted discovery: and, as they had been highly chagrined before at their inability to detect the criminals who had so outrageously insulted the multitude, they immediately discharged this informer, and all other prisoners whom he did not name as accomplices. Upon such as he expressly named, the judicial trials were held. Some of them they put to death, as many as were prevented by timely arrests from flying from justice; but they pronounced the sentence of death against the fugitives, and set a price on their heads. Yet all this while it was by no means clear, that those who suffered were not unjustly condemned. Thus much however is certain, that by such proceedings the public tranquillity was restored.

In regard to Alcibiades, the Athenians were highly incensed against him, since the party which were his enemies, and had made their attacks upon him before his departure, continued still to inflame them. And now, as they presumed the truth had been detected in relation to the Mercuries, it appeared to them, beyond a scruple, that he must also have been guilty of the crimes charged against him about the mysteries, upon the same ground of a secret combination against the democracy.

At this critical period of time, when the public confusion was in all its height, it farther happened that a Lacedæmonian army, though by no means large, advanced as far as to

the isthmus, to execute some scheme along with the Bœotians. This was interpreted to the prejudice of Alcibiades, as if they had now taken the field at his instigation, and not on any account of obliging the Bœotians; and that, "had they not happily apprehended in time such as had been informed against, Athens had now been infallibly betrayed." Nay, for the space of a night, they kept guard under arms within the city, in the temple of Theseus.

About the same time, also, the friends of Alcibiades at Argos were suspected of a design to assault the people: and those hostages of the Argives who were kept in custody among the islands, the Athenians on this occasion delivered up to the people of Argos, to be put to death on these suspicions.

Thus reasons flowed in from every quarter for suspecting Alcibiades. Desirous therefore to bring him to a trial and to execution, they accordingly despatched the Salaminian to Sicily, to order him and such others as they had informations against to repair to Athens. But it had been given them in charge to notify to him that "he should follow them home in order to make his defence," and by no means to put him under arrest. This arrangement was owing to a desire of preventing all stir in the army or in the enemy; and, not least of all, to their willingness that the Mantineans and Argives should continue in the service, whose attendance in the expedition they wholly ascribed to the interest Alcibiades had with them.

In pursuance of this, Alcibiades on board his own ship, and accompanied by all those who were involved in the same accusation, sailed away from Sicily with the Salaminian for Athens; and when they were got to the height of Thuria, they no longer followed; but, quitting their ship, were no longer to be seen. Censured as they were, they durst not in fact undergo a trial. The crew of the Salaminian exerted themselves immediately in the search after Alcibiades and his companions; but, when they found the search was ineffectual, they gave it up, and steered away for Athens; and Alcibiades, now become a fugitive, passed over in a vessel soon after from Thuria* to Peloponnesus. But the Athe-

* Somebody at Thuria, who knew Alcibiades, asked him why he would not stand a trial, and trust his country? "In other

nians, upon his thus abandoning his defence, pronounced the sentence of death against him and his associates.

After these transactions, the Athenian generals who remained in Sicily having divided their armament into two squadrons, and taken the command of each by lot, set sail with all their united force for Selinus and Egesta. They were desirous to know whether the Egesteans would pay down the money; to discover also the present posture of the Selinuntians; and to learn the state of their quarrels with the Egesteans. In their course, keeping on the left that part of Sicily which lies on the Tyrrhene Gulf, they arrived at Himera, which is the only Grecian city in this part of Sicily; and, when denied reception here, they resumed their course. Touching afterward at Hyccara, a Sycanian fortress, but an annoyance to the Egesteans, they surprised it; for it was situated close upon the sea; and having doomed the inhabitants to be slaves, they delivered the place into the hands of the Egesteans, whose cavalry was now attending on the Athenian motions. The land-forces marched away from hence through the territories of the Siculi, till they had again reached Catana; but the vessels, on board of which were the slaves, came back along the coasts.

Nicias had proceeded from Hyccara directly to Egesta, where, after transacting other points, and receiving thirty talents,* he rejoined the grand armament at Catana: and here they set up the slaves to sale,† and raised by the money paid for them one hundred and twenty talents.‡

They also sailed about to their Sicilian allies, summoning them to send in their re-enforcements. With a division also of their force they appeared before Hybla, a hostile city in

points I would; but, when my life is concerned, I would not trust my own mother, lest she should make a mistake, and put in a black bean instead of a white one." And, when he was afterward told that his countrymen had passed the sentence of death against him, he briskly replied, "But I'll make them know that I am alive."—*Plutarch in Alcibiades.*

* 5812*l.* 10*s.*

† Among the rest, Nicias sold at this sale Lais, the famous courtesan, at this time a very young girl, whom her purchasers carried to Corinth, where she set up and drove a prodigious trade indeed.—*Plutarch in Nicias.*

‡ 23,250*l.* sterling.

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the district of Gela, but were not able to take it. And here the summer ended.

Winter now succeeding, the Athenians begin immediately to get all things in readiness for an attempt upon Syracuse. The Syracusans were equally intent on making an attack upon them. For, since the Athenians had not thought proper, during their first panic and consternation, to fall instantly upon them, such a protraction reinspired them day after day with new reviving courage : since, farther, by cruising on the other side of Sicily, they seemed to affect a remoteness from them ; and, though showing themselves before Hybla, and attempting the place, they had not been able to carry it, the Syracusans began now to treat them with an open contempt. They even insisted, as might be expected from a populace who are high in spirits, "that their generals should lead out towards Catana, since the enemy durst not venture to march against them." The Syracusan horsemen also, sent daily out to observe their motions, rode boldly up to the camp of the Athenians, insulting them in other respects, but especially with this sneering demand, "Whether they were not rather come to gain a settlement for themselves on a foreign shore, than to replace the Leontines in their old possessions ?"

The Athenian generals, informed of these bravadoes, were desirous to seduce the whole strength of Syracuse to as great a distance as possible from that city, that they might snatch an opportunity of transporting thither their own forces by favour of the night, and seize a proper spot whereon to fix their encampment, without any obstruction from the enemy. They were well convinced that their point could not be so easily accomplished, should they endeavour to force a descent in the face of the enemy, or by a land-march should give them an early notice of their design : for, in such cases, their own light-armed, and that cumbersome train which must attend, as they had no horse to cover their motions, must suffer greatly from the numerous cavalry of the Syracusans : but, by the other scheme, they might preoccupy a spot of ground where the cavalry could not give them any considerable annoyance. Nay, what is more, the Syracusan exiles, who followed their camp, had informed them of a piece of ground convenient for their purpose near Olympiæum.

In order therefore to accomplish the point, the generals

had recourse to the following artifice :—They despatched an emissary, of whose fidelity they were well assured, and who might also pass with the generals of Syracuse as well affected to their cause. The person employed was a Catanian. He told them “ he was sent by their friends in Catana,” with whose names they were acquainted, and knew well to be of that number in Catana which persisted in steadfast attachment to them : he said farther, that “ the Athenians reposed themselves by night within the city at a distance from their arms ; and that in case they, the Syracusans, on a day prefixed, would, with all the forces of their city, appear by early dawn before the Athenian camp, the Catanians would shut up those within the city and set fire to their shipping, by which means they might force the intrenchments, and render themselves masters of the camp ; that, farther, the party of Catanians that would co-operate with them in this scheme was very large, and already prepared to execute these points he was now sent to propose.”

The Syracusan generals, whose ardour other contingences had already inflamed, and who had formed a resolution, even previous to such encouragement, to march their forces towards Catana, without the least reserve gave implicit credit to this emissary ; and, having instantly pitched upon a day for execution, dismissed him. They also (for by this time the Selinuntian and some other auxiliaries had joined them) issued out their orders for the whole military strength of Syracuse to march out on the day appointed. No sooner, therefore, were all the needful preparations adjusted, and the time at hand at which they were to make their appearance, than, on the march for Catana, they halted one night upon the banks of the Symæthus, in the Leontine district. But the Athenians, when assured they had thus taken the field, decamping instantly with the whole of their force, and with all the Sicilian and other auxiliaries who had joined them, and embarking themselves on board their ships and transports, steered away by night for Syracuse : and, early the next dawn, they landed on the intended spot near Olympiæum, intent on forming and securing their encampment. The cavalry of the Syracusans, in the meantime, came up first to Catana, and discovering that the whole Athenian army had put to sea by night, they return with this intelligence to their foot. Upon this the whole army, soon wheeling about, returned with all speed to the defence of Syracuse.

In the meantime the Athenians, as the enemy had a long way to march, formed an encampment on an advantageous spot without the least obstruction. On it they were possessed of the advantage of fighting only at their own discretion, and the Syracusan horse could not give them the least annoyance, either during or before an engagement. On one side they were flanked by walls, and houses, and trees, and a marsh; and on the other by precipices. They also felled some trees that grew near; and, carrying them down to the shore, they piled them into a barricade for the defence of their ships, and to cover them on the side of Dascon. They also expeditiously threw up a rampart, on the part which seemed most accessible to the enemy, of stones picked out for the purpose, and timber, and broke down the bridge of the Anapus.

Thus busied as they were on fortifying their camp, not so much as one person ventured out of the city to obstruct their proceedings. The first who appeared to make any resistance were the Syracusan cavalry; and, when once they had shown themselves, the whole body of their infantry was soon in sight. They advanced first of all quite up to the Athenian works; but, when they perceived that they would not sally out to fight them, they again retreated: and, having crossed the road to Helorum, reposed themselves for the night.

The succeeding day the Athenians and allies prepared for engagement, and their order of battle was formed as follows:—The Argives and Mantineans had the right, the Athenians the centre, and the rest of the line was formed by the other confederates. One half of the whole force, which was ranged in the first line, was drawn up by eight in depth. The other half, being posted near the tents, formed a hollow square, in which the men were also drawn up by eight. The latter were ordered, if any part of the line gave way, to keep a good look-out and advance to their support. And within this hollow square they posted all the train who attended the service of the army.

But the Syracusans drew up their heavy-armed, which body consisted of the whole military strength of Syracuse and all the confederates who had joined them, in files consisting of sixteen. Those who had joined with auxiliary quotas were chiefly the Selinuntians; and next, the horse of the Geloans, amounting in the whole to about two hundred: the horse

also of the Camarineans, about twenty in number, and about fifty archers. But their horsemen they posted to the right, being not fewer in number than twelve hundred ; and, next to them, the darters.

The Athenians being now intent on advancing to the charge, Nicias, addressing himself in regular order to the troops of the several states, animated them to the fight by the following harangue, repeated in turn to the whole army.

"What need, my fellow-soldiers, of a long exhortation, since we are here, determined, and resolute for action ? for this our present arrangement seems to me a stronger confirmation of your courage than any words could be, how eloquently soever delivered, if we were inferior in strength. But when, Argives, and Mantineans, and Athenians, and the flower of the isles, we are here assembled together, how is it possible, when such brave and numerous allies are to fight in company, that we should not entertain a steadfast, nay, the warmest hope, that the victory will be our own ? Nay, more, as we have to do with a promiscuous crowd, the mob of a city, not selected for service, as we have had the honour to be ; and who, it must be added, are but Sicilians ; who, though affecting to despise us, will never sustain our charge, because their skill is far beneath their courage.

"Let every soldier, farther, recall to his remembrance, that he is now at a vast distance from his native soil, and near no friendly land but what you shall render such by the efforts of your valour. Such things I am bound to suggest to your remembrance ; the reverse, I am well convinced, of what your enemies utter for their mutual encouragement. They undoubtedly are roaring aloud, 'It is for your country you are now to fight.' But I tell you, that from your country you are now remote ; and, as such, must either conquer, or not without difficulty ever see it again, since the numerous cavalry of the enemy will press hard upon our retreat. Call therefore to mind your own dignity and worth ; advance with alacrity to assault your foes ; convinced that your present necessities and wants are far more terrible than the enemy you are to engage."

When Nicias had finished this exhortation he led on his army towards the encounter. But the Syracusans were not yet prepared, as by no means expecting to be charged so soon ; and some of the soldiers, as the city lay so near, were

straggled thither. These however came running with all eagerness and speed to gain their posts ; too late upon the whole ; but, as each of them met with any number intent on action, he ranged himself in their company. The Syracusans, to do them justice, were not deficient in alacrity or courage, neither in the present battle nor any of the following. They maintained their ground gallantly so long as their competence of skill enabled them ; but when that failed them, they were forced, though with reluctance, to slacken in their ardour. However, though far from imagining that the Athenians would presume to begin the attack, and though obliged in a hurry to stand on their defence, they took up their arms, and advanced immediately to meet their foe.

In the first place, therefore, the slingers of stones, with either the hand or the sling, and the archers, on both sides, began the engagement ; and alternately chased one another, as is generally the case among the bodies of the light-armed. In the next place, the soothsayers brought forwards and immolated the solemn victims ; and the trumpets summoned the heavy-armed to close firm together and advance.

All sides began now to face : the Syracusans to fight for their country ; each soldier among them for his native soil ; to earn, for the present his preservation, and for the future his liberty : on their enemies' side, the Athenians to gain possession of a foreign country, and not to damage their own by a dastardly behaviour ; the Argives, and voluntary part of the confederates, to procure for the Athenians a happy accomplishment of their schemes, and again to visit their own country, to which they were endeared, victorious and triumphant ; and that part of the confederacy which attended in obedience to the orders of their masters, were highly animated by the thought that they must earn their safety now at once, or, if defeated now, must for the future despair ; and then, secretly actuated perhaps by the distant hope that, were others reduced to the Athenian yoke, their own bondage might be rendered more light and easy.

The business being now come to blows, they for a long time maintained the ground on both sides. It happened, farther, that some claps of thunder were heard, attended with lightning and a heavy rain. This caused a sudden consternation in the Syracusans, who now for the first time engaged the Athenians, and had gained very little experience in

the affairs of war ; but, by the more experienced enemy, these accidents were interpreted as the ordinary effects of the season ; and their concern was rather employed upon the enemy, whom they found no easy conquest. But the Argives, having first of all defeated the left wing of the Syracusans, and the Athenians being afterward successful in their quarter of the battle, the whole Syracusan army was soon thrown into disorder, and began the flight. The Athenians however did not continue the pursuit to any great distance ; for the Syracusan cavalry, as they were numerous and unbroken, put a stop to the chase by assaulting those parties of heavy-armed whom they saw detached for the pursuit, and driving them back into their own line. Having pursued only so far as they could in an orderly and secure manner, they again retreated and erected a trophy.

But the Syracusans, who had rallied again in the road to Helorum, and were drawn up as well as the present posture of affairs would permit, sent a strong detachment from their body for the guard of Olympiæum ; apprehensive that the Athenians might otherwise seize the treasures that were deposited there. And, this being done, with the remainder of their force they retired within the walls of Syracuse.

The Athenians in the meantime made no advances against Olympiæum ; but, after gathering together the bodies of their slain, and laying them upon the funeral pyre, they passed the night on the field of battle.

The next day they delivered up their dead under truce to the Syracusans, of whom and their allies there had perished about two hundred and sixty men ; and then gathered up the bones of their own. Of the Athenians and their allies, about fifty in all were slain ; and now, with all the pillage they had made of the enemy, they sailed back to Catana.

This was owing to the season of the year, now advanced to winter. It was no longer judged possible for them to be able to continue the war in their present post before they had procured a supply of horse from Athens, and had assembled others from their confederates in Sicily, that they might not be entirely exposed to the horse of the enemy. They were also intent on collecting pecuniary aids in those parts, and some were expected from Athens : " They might also obtain the concurrence of some other cities, which they hoped would prove more tractable, since they had gained a battle ;

they wanted, farther, to furnish themselves with provisions and all necessary stores, which might enable them early in the spring to make new attempts on Syracuse." Determined by these considerations, they sailed back to Naxos and Catana, in order to winter there.

The Syracusans, after they had performed the obsequies of their slain, called a general assembly of the people. And on this occasion Hermocrates, the son of Hermon, a man who was inferior to none in all other branches of human prudence, who for military skill was in high reputation, and renowned for bravery, standing forth among them, endeavoured to encourage them, and prevent their being too much dispirited by their late defeat.

He told them, "that in courage they had not been worsted, but their want of discipline had done them harm: and yet the harm suffered by that was not near so great as they might justly have expected; especially when, no better than a rabble of mechanics, they had been obliged to enter the lists against the most experienced soldiery of Greece; that what hurt them most was too large a number of generals, and the multiplicity of commands which was thence occasioned, for the number of those who commanded was fifteen, while the bulk of their army observed no discipline, and obeyed no orders at all: but, were only a few skilful generals selected for the trust,—would they only be intent this winter on training their bodies of heavy-armed, and furnish others with arms who had none for themselves, in order to enlarge their number as much as possible, and inure them to settled exercise and use,—he assured them, thus, in all probability, they must upon the whole be too hard for their foes, as their natural portion of valour was great, and skill would be attained by practice: that both of these would progressively become more perfect; discipline, by being exercised through a series of danger and inward bravery, would merely of itself increase in gallant confidence, when assured of the support of skill: as to generals, that few only, and those invested with absolute power, ought to be elected and confirmed by a solemn oath from the people, that they were permitted to lead the army where and how they judged best for the public service: for, by this means, what ought to be concealed would be less liable to detection, and all the schemes of war might be directed with order and certainty of success"

The Syracusans, who had listened to this discourse, decreed whatever he proposed. They elected Hermocrates himself to be a general, and Heraclides the son of Lysimachus, and Sicanus the son of Hexecestus; these three. They also appointed ambassadors to go to Corinth and Lacedæmon, to procure the alliance of those states, and to persuade the Lacedæmonians to make hotter war upon the Athenians, with an open avowal that they acted in behalf of the Syracusans; that, by this means, they might either be obliged to recall their fleet from Sicily, or might be less able to send any re-enforcements to the army already there.

The Athenian forces, which lay at Catana, soon made an excursion from thence to Messene, expecting to have it betrayed into their power. But all the steps taken previously for the purpose were totally disconcerted: for Alcibiades, upon his quitting the command when recalled to Athens, being convinced within himself that exile must be his portion, betrayed the whole project, as he had been in the secret, to such persons at Messene as were attached to the Syracusans. The first step this party took was to put to death all the persons against whom he informed; and, at the time of this attempt, being quite in a ferment and under arms, they carried their point, so that those who wished to give it were obliged to refuse admission to the Athenians. The Athenians, therefore, after thirteen days' continuance on that coast, when the weather began to be tempestuous, when their provisions failed, and no hope of success appeared, returned to Naxos^{*,†} where, having thrown up an intrenchment round their camp, they continued the rest of the winter. They also despatched a trireme to Athens, to forward a supply of money and horsemen to join them without fail by the beginning of the spring.

The Syracusans employed themselves this winter in fortifying their city. They enclosed Temenites within their new works, and carried their wall through all that length of ground which faces Epipolæ, that, in case they should be unable to keep the field, the enemy might have as little room as possible to raise counter-works of annoyance. They also placed a garrison at Megara, and another in Olympiæum; and all along the sea they drove rows of piles, wherever the

† In the original is added καὶ Θρακίαι. But all the editors and note-writers give it up, and own they can make nothing of it.

ground was convenient for descents. Knowing, also, that the Athenians wintered at Naxos, they marched out with all their force against Catana. They ravaged the territory of the Catanians; and, after burning the tents and camp of the Athenians, they returned home.

Having also had intelligence that the Athenians had sent an embassy to Camarina, under favour of a treaty made formerly with them by Laches, to try if it were possible to procure their concurrence, they also despatched an embassy thither, to traverse the negotiation: for the Camarineans were suspected by them, as if they had not cordially sent in their quota of assistance for the first battle, and lest for the future they might be totally averse from acting in their support, as in that battle they had seen the Athenians victorious; and so, induced by the former treaty they had made with the latter, might now declare openly on their side.

When therefore Hermocrates and others were arrived at Camarina from Syracuse, and from the Athenians Euphemus and his colleagues in the embassy, an assembly of the Camarineans was held, in which Hermocrates, desirous to give them a timely distaste against the Athenians, harangued them thus:—

“Our embassy hither, ye men of Camarina, has not been occasioned by any fears we were under that you might be too much terrified at the great equipment with which the Athenians have invaded us; but rather by our knowledge with what kind of arguments they would impose on your understanding, by which, before we had an opportunity to remonstrate, they might seduce you into a concurrence. Sicily in fact they have invaded, upon such pretext as you have heard them give out; but with such intentions as we have all abundant reason to suspect. And to me it is clear that their schemes have no tendency to replant the Leontines, but rather to supplant us all: for, how is it reconcileable with common sense, that a people, who have ever been employed in the ruin of the states which are neighbouring to Athens, should be sincere in re-establishing a Sicilian people; or, by the bonds of consanguinity, hold themselves obliged to protect the Leontines, who are of Chalcidic descent, while on the Chalcideans of Eubœa, from whom these others are a colony, they hold fast riveted the yoke of slavery? No; it is the same cruel policy that subjugated the Grecians in that

part of the world, which now exerts itself to glut their ambition in this.

"These are those very Athenians who, formerly, having been elected their common leaders by the well-designing Ionians and that confederate body which derived from them their descent, on the glorious pretence of avenging themselves on the Persian monarch, abused their trust by enslaving those who placed confidence in them; charging some with deserting the common cause, others with their mutual embroilments, and all, at length, with different but specious criminations: and, on the whole, these Athenians waged war against the Medes, not in the cause of Grecian liberty, as neither did the other Grecians in the defence of their own: the former fought, not indeed to subject the rest of Greece to the Medes, but to their own selves; the latter, merely to obtain a change of master; a master not inferior in policy, but far more abundant in malice.

"But though Athens, on manifold accounts, be obnoxious to universal censure and reproach, yet we are not come hither to prove how justly she deserves it, since your own conviction precludes the long detail. We are much more concerned at present to censure and reproach ourselves, since, with all the examples before our eyes of what the Grecians in those parts have suffered, who, for want of guarding against their encroachments, have fallen victims to their ambition; since, with the certain knowledge that they are now playing the same sophistries upon us, 'the replantation of their kindred Leontines,' 'the support of the Egesteans, their allies,' we show no inclination to unite together in our common defence, in order to give them most signal proofs, that in Sicily are neither Ionians, nor Hellespontines, nor islanders who will be slaves, though ever changing their master, one while to the Medes, and soon after to whoever will please to govern; but, on the contrary, that we are Dorians, who from Peloponnesus, that seat of liberty and independence, came to dwell in Sicily. Shall we, therefore, protract our union, till, city after city, we are compelled to a submission?—we, who are convinced that thus only we can be conquered, and when we even behold that thus our foes have dressed up their plan; among some of our people scattering dissensions, setting others to war down each other for the mighty recompense of their alliance, cajoling the rest as may best sooth

the pride or caprice of each, and availing themselves of these methods to work our ruin ? We even indulge the wild imagination that, though a remote inhabitant of Sicily be destroyed, the danger can never come home to ourselves ; and that he who precedes us in ruin is unhappy only in and for himself.

“Is there now a man among you who imagines that merely a Syracusan, and not himself, is the object of Athenian enmity, and pronounces it hard that he must be exposed to dangers in which I only am concerned ? Let such a one with more solidity reflect, that not merely for what is mine, but equally also for what is his own, he should associate with me, though within my precincts ; and that this may be done with greater security now, since as yet I am not quite destroyed, since in me he is sure of a steadfast ally, and before he is bereaved of all support may hazard the contention. And let him farther rest assured, that it is not the sole view of the Athenian to bridle enmity in a Syracusan ; but, under the colour of that pretext, to render himself the more secure, by gaining for a time the friendship of another.

“If others, again, entertain any envy or jealousy of Syracuse (for to each of these great states are generally obnoxious), and would take delight in seeing us depressed, in order to teach us moderation, though not totally destroyed, from a regard to his own preservation ; these are such sanguine wishes, as, in the course of human affairs, can never be accomplished ; because it is quite impossible that the same person shall build up airy schemes to sooth his own passions, and then ensure their success. And thus, should some sinister event take place, quite sunk under the weight of his own calamity, he would perhaps be soon wishing again that I was so replaced as to excite his envy. Impossible this, for one who abandoned my defence, who refused beforehand to participate my dangers,—dangers, though not in name, yet in reality, his own : for, if names alone be regarded, he acts in the support of my power ; but, if realities, of his own preservation.

“Long since, ye men of Camarina, it was incumbent on you, who are borderers upon us, and must be our seconds in ruin, to have foreseen these things, and not to have abetted our defence with so much remissness as you have hitherto done it. You ought to have repaired to our support with free and voluntary aid ; with such as, in case the Athenians

had begun first with Camarina, you would have come with earnest prayers to implore from us : so cordial and so alert you should have appeared in our behalf, to avert us from too precipitate submissions. But these things never were ; not even you, nor any other people, have shown such affection or alacrity for us.

“ From timorousness of heart you will study perhaps to manage both with us and the invaders, and allege that there are treaties subsisting between yourselves and the Athenians. Yet these treaties you never made to hurt your friends, but to repel the efforts of your foes, should they dare to attack you. By them you are bound to give defensive aid to the Athenians when attacked by others, and not when they, as in the present case, injuriously fall upon your neighbours. Remember that the Rhégians, though even of Chalcidic descent, have refused to concur with them in replanting the Leontines, who are also Chalcideans. Hard, indeed, is your fate, if they, suspecting some bad design to lie lurking under a fair justification, have recourse to the wary moderate behaviour which appearances will not warrant ; while you, on the pretended ground of a rational conduct, are eager to serve a people who are by nature your foes ; and join with most implacable enemies to destroy your own kindred, to whom nature has so closely attached you !

“ In such a conduct there is no justice : the justice lies in abetting our cause, and not dastardly shrinking before the terror of their arms. These arms are not terrible, would we only all combine in our mutual defence ; they are only so, if, on the contrary, we continue disunited, the point which the Athenians labour with so much assiduity : for, even when singly against us they entered the lists and were victorious, yet they were not able to effectuate their designs, but were obliged precipitately to re-embark. If united, therefore, what farther can we have to fear ? What hinders us from associating together with instant alacrity and zeal ? especially as we soon shall receive an aid from Peloponnesus, who in all the business of war are far superior to Athenians. Reject, I say, the vain presumption, that either it will be equitable in regard to us, or prudential in regard to yourselves, to take part with neither side, on pretence that you have treaties subsisting with both ; there is a fallacy in it, which, though veiled under plausible words, the event will soon detect.

For if, through your determination to abandon his support, the party already attacked be vanquished, and the assailant be invigorated by success, what can such absenting of yourselves avail, but to help forward the ruin of the one, and afford free scope to the pernicious schemes of the other? And how glorious would the reverse of this conduct be, would you exert your efforts to redress the injured, who also by the ties of consanguinity have a right to expect it from you; to guard the common welfare of Sicily; and not suffer your friends, your good friends, the Athenians, to run out into a course of outrage!

"In a word, we Syracusans have now only this to add; that arguments are superfluous, either for the instruction of you or of others, in points whose tendency you know as clearly as ourselves: but we earnestly conjure you, and, if prayers will not avail, we boldly protest against you, that, as the worst designs are formed against us by our eternal foes, the Ionians, you would act as you ought; if not, that by you we are basely betrayed, Dorians by Dorians. If such must be our fate, if by the Athenians we must be destroyed, they will be indebted for their success to your determinations, but the glory of it will be totally assumed by themselves. Nay, the chief reward they will reap from the victory will be this, to enslave the persons who enabled them to gain it. But then, should the victory rest with us, you are the men from whom we shall exact revenge for all the dangers to which we have been exposed. Examine things, therefore, and declare your resolution, either at once, without embarking into dangers, to put on the Athenian chains; or, with us, to face the storm and earn your preservation; not basely bending to the yoke of foreign tyrants, and preventing an enmity with us which will not quickly be appeased."

In these words Hermocrates harangued the Camarineans: and, when he had ended, Euphemus, ambassador of the Athenians, replied as follows:—

"Our journey hither was intended for the renewal of a former alliance; but, as this Syracusan has taken the liberty to be severe upon us, we lie under an obligation to show the justice of our title to that share of dominion which we now possess; and the strongest evidence of this he himself has been pleased to give, by affirming that Ionians have been eternal foes to Dorians. The fact is incontestably true:

since we, who are Ionians, have been necessitated to stand ever upon our guard against the encroaching designs of the Peloponnesians, who are Dorians, who are our superiors in number, and are seated upon our borders. When, therefore, in the close of the Persian invasion, we saw ourselves masters of a navy, we asserted our own independence from the government and guidance of the Lacedæmonians, since no shadow of reason could be found why we should be obedient to them any more than they to us, save only that in this critical period their strength was greater. We were afterward appointed, by free election, the leaders of those Ionians who had formerly been subject to the monarch : and the preference awarded to us we continue to support ; assured that only thus we shall escape subjection to the Peloponnesian yoke, by keeping possession of a power which can effectually awe all their encroachments : and, farther (that we may come to particulars), it was not with injustice that we exacted subjection from those Ionians and inhabitants of the isles, whom the Syracusans say we thought proper to enslave, though connected with us by the ties of blood : for they marched, in company with the Mede, against their mother-country ; against us, their founders. They had not the courage to expose their own homes to ruin and devastation by an honest revolt, though we with magnanimity abandoned even Athens itself. They made slavery their choice, and in the same miserable fate would have been glad to envelop us. Thus solid are the grounds on which we found our title to that extensive rule we now enjoy. We honestly deserve it : since, in the cause of Greece, we equipped the largest fleet, and exerted the greatest ardour, without the least equivocation ; and since those others, acting with implicit obedience to the Mede, did all they could to distress us. To which let it be added, that we were at the same time desirous to obtain a strength sufficient to give a check to the ambition of the Peloponnesians. Submissive, therefore, to their dictates, we are not, will not be ; because, either in return for the repulse of the barbarian by our single efforts, or in requital of the dangers we bravely encountered in defence of the liberty of those Ionians, greater than all the rest of Greece, or even they themselves, durst hazard for their own, we have an undoubted right to empire.

“ But, farther, to guard its own liberties and rights is a

privilege which, without either murmur or envy, will be allowed to every state ; and now, for the security of these important points to ourselves, have we ventured hither to beg your concurrence ; conscious, at the same time, ye men of Camarina, that your welfare too coincides with our own. This we can clearly demonstrate, even from those criminations which our adversaries here have lavished upon us, and from those so terrible suspicions which you yourselves are inclined to entertain of our proceedings. We are not now to learn that men, who with some high degrees of horror suspect latent mischief, may for the present be soothed by an insinuating flow of words ; but, when summoned to action, will so exert themselves as is expedient for their welfare : and, consonant to this, we have already hinted that through fear alone we seized that power which we now possess in Greece ; that through the same motive we have ventured hither, to establish our own security in concert with that of our friends ; so far from the view of enslaving them to ourselves, that we are solely intent on preserving them from being enslaved by others.

“ Let no man here retort upon us, that all our solicitude for you is unmerited and superfluous. Such a one must know that, so long as you are safe, so long as you are able to employ the Syracusans, the less liable they will be to send re-enforcements from hence to the Peloponnesians for our annoyance ; and, as this is the real state of things, our concern should most largely be bestowed upon you. By parity of reason it also highly concerns us to replant the Leontines : not in order to render them vassals to ourselves, as their relations of Eubœa are, but to make them as strong and powerful as we are able ; that, seated as they then will be on her confines, they may compensate our remote situation in affording a diversion to Syracuse : for, if the view be carried back to Greece, we ourselves are there a match for our foes. The Chalcidean there, whom, after unjustly enslaving, we are taxed with absurdity for pretending to vindicate here, is highly so viceable to us, because he is disarmed, and because he furnishes us with a tribute : but, here in Sicily, our interest demands that the Leontines, and the whole body of our friends, be restored to the full enjoyment of all their liberty and strength.

“ Now, to a potentate invested with superior power, or to

a state possessed of empire, nothing that is profitable can be deemed absurd ; nothing secure that cannot be safely managed. Incidents will arise with which we must temporize, and determine accordingly our enmity or friendship. But the latter makes most for our interest here, where we ought by no means to weaken our friends, but, through the strength of our friends, to keep down and disable our enemies. Of this you ought not to rest incredulous, as you know that over our dependants in Greece we either hold tight or slacken the rein, as squares best with the public service. We permit to the Chians and Methymneans the free use of their liberties and laws for a quota of shipping ; we do the same to many for an annual tribute, exacted perhaps with somewhat of rigour : others among them, who fight under our orders, are absolutely free, though seated upon islands and easy to be totally reduced, because they are commodiously situated to annoy the Peloponnesian coast. And hence it may be depended upon, that we shall make such dispositions also here as are most expedient for our own interest, and may best lessen the dread which, as was said before, we entertain of the Syracusans.

“ The point at which they aim is an extent of their rule over you ; and when, by alarming your suspicions of us, they have wrought you to their own purpose, either by open force or taking advantage of your desolate condition, when we are repulsed and obliged to abandon your defence, they intend to subdue all Sicily to their yoke. Such the event will unavoidably prove, if at present you adhere to them : for never again will it be easy for us to assemble together so large an armament to give a check to their ambition ; nor, when we are no longer at hand for your support, will their strength against you be insufficient. It is vain in any man to indulge an opinion that this may not be the case, since the very train of things evinces its truth : for, when first you invited us hither, it was not upon the suggestion of any other fear than this ; that, should we suffer you to be subjected by the Syracusans, the danger then would extend itself to us : and highly unjust it would be now, if the argument you successfully enforced with us should lose all its influence upon you, or should you ground suspicions on our present appearance against them, with a force superior to theirs, when you ought much more to entertain an endless distrust of them. The truth is this,

that without your concurrence we are not able to continue here ; and in case, with perfidy open and avowed, we make seizure of your cities, yet we are unable to retain their possession, remote as they lie from Athens ; as cities so large we never could garrison ; and as they are farther provided in all respects as well as any on the continent. But, on the contrary, the Syracusans will not rush upon you from a camp upon the beach ; but, posted in a city more formidable in strength than the whole of our armament, they are ever meditating your ruin, and, when they have seized a proper opportunity, will strike the blow. They have afforded you instances of this already, and a flagrant one indeed in the case of the Leontines : and yet they have the effrontery now, by words, as if you were so to be deluded, to exasperate you against us, who have hitherto controlled their views, and deterred them to this moment from making all Sicily their prey.

“ Our arguments have a tendency directly opposite. We have nothing in view but your certain and assured preservation, when we earnestly conjure you not wilfully to betray the means which at present will result from our union, which we can mutually exert in one another's behalf ; and strongly to represent to your own reflections that, even without the concurrence of allies, a road to your reduction will at any time be open to these Syracusans through their own superior numbers ; but an opportunity exceedingly seldom afforded you to make head against them with so large an auxiliary body : and if, from groundless suspicions, you suffer now so large a body to depart either unsuccessful or defeated, yet a time will come when you will ardently wish to see them return, though in a much less proportion of strength, and they have it no longer in their power to cross the sea for your support. Take care, therefore, Camarineans, that neither yourselves nor others be deceived by a too credulous belief of the bold calumniation these Syracusans utter. We have now laid before you the true ground of all those sad suspicions which are fomented against us ; but shall again recall them to your remembrance by a short recapitulation, that they may have the proper influence upon you.

“ We declare, therefore, that we rule in Greece merely to prevent our being enslaved ; but are intent on vindicating liberty in Sicily, to suppress that annoyance which might otherwise be given us from hence : that mere necessity obli-

ges us to embark in many undertakings, because we have many sinister incidents to guard against : that now and formerly we came hither to support those Sicilians who have been unjustly oppressed ; nor uninvited, but solemnly conjured to take such steps. Attempt not, therefore, to divert our pursuits, either by erecting yourselves into censors of our proceedings, or into correctors of our politics ; a point too difficult for you to manage : but, so much of our activity or conduct as you can mould into a consistency with your own welfare, lay hold of that, and employ it to your best advantage ; and never imagine that our politics are equally prejudicial to all the world besides, but highly beneficial to the bulk of the Grecians : for, through every quarter, even those which we cannot pretend to control, both such as dread impending mischiefs and such as meditate encroachments, laying hold on both sides of the ready expectation ; the former, that redress may be obtained by our interposition ; the latter, that, if we think proper to oppose them, their own safety will be greatly endangered ; both sides, I say, are hence obliged ; the latter, to practise moderation, though with regret ; the former, to enjoy tranquillity without previous embroilments of the public peace. The security, therefore, which now offers itself to your acceptance, and is always ready for those who want it, you are conjured by no means to reject ; but relying, like other communities, on that quantity of support we are able to afford you, put the change for once on the Syracusans ; and, instead of being ever on the watch against them, force them at length to be watchful and alarmed for themselves."

Such was the reply of Euphemus. In the meantime the real disposition of the Camarineans was this : at bottom they were well affected to the Athenians, save only for the ambition they showed of enslaving Sicily ; but had ever been embroiled with the Syracusans, through that jealousy ever to be found in a neighbouring state. But, as the dread of victory on the side of the Syracusans, who were close upon their borders, if earned without their concurrence, had influenced their measures, they sent a small party of horse to succour them on the former occasion ; and looked upon themselves as obliged in policy to serve them underhand in future exigences, but with all possible frugality and reserve ; and, at the present juncture, that they might not betray any the

least partiality against the Athenians, as they were come off victorious from a battle, to return the same impartial reply to both. Determined, therefore, by these considerations, they answered that, "since a war had broken out between two states, each of which was in alliance with themselves, they judged the only method of acting consistently with their oaths would be to observe a strict neutrality." Upon this the ambassadors of both parties took their leaves and departed; and the Syracusans, within themselves, exerted their utmost applications to get all things in readiness for war.

The Athenians, who were now encamped at Naxos, opened negotiations with the Siculi, to draw over as many of them as was possible into their adherence. Many of these, who inhabited the plains, and were most awed by the Syracusans, stood resolutely out; but the generality of those who were seated in the midland parts, as they were now, and had ever kept themselves uncontrolled, sided at once with the Athenians. They furnished them with corn for the service of the army, and there were some who supplied them with money; and then the Athenians, taking the field against such as refused to accede, forced some to a compliance, and prevented others from receiving garrisons and aids from Syracuse. During winter, also, they removed again from Naxos to Catana; and having repaired their camp, which had been burnt by the Syracusans, chose to pass the remainder of the winter there.

They also despatched a trireme to Carthage to ask their friendship, and whatever assistance could possibly be obtained: they sent also to Tuscany, as some cities on that coast had made them voluntary offers of assistance: and, farther, they circulated their orders among the Siculi, and despatched in particular one to the Eggesteans, "to send them as large a number of horses as they could possibly procure." They busied themselves in collecting materials for circumvallation, such as bricks and iron, and all other necessary stores; being determined to carry on the war with vigour on the first approach of spring.

The ambassadors, who from Syracuse were sent to Corinth and Lacedæmon, endeavoured in their passage to prevail with the Italians "not to look with unconcern on the Athenian proceedings, since they also were equally involved in the danger." But, when arrived at Corinth, they were admitted

to an audience, in which they insisted on a speedy supply, upon the plea of consanguinity ; and the Corinthians came at once to a resolution, by way of precedent to others, that "with all possible ardour they would join in their defence." They even appointed an embassy of their own to accompany them to Lacedæmon, whose instructions were to second them in soliciting the Lacedæmonians "to declare open war at home against the Athenians, and to fit out an aid for the service of Sicily."

At the time that these joint embassies arrived at Lacedæmon from Corinth, Alcibiades was also there. He had no sooner made his escape, attended by his companions in exile, than in a trading-vessel he passed over from Thuria to Cylene in Elea ; and from thence he repaired to Lacedæmon. But, as the Lacedæmonians had pressed to see him, he went thither under the protection of the public faith ; for he had with reason dreaded his reception there, since he had acted so large a part in the affair of Mantinea.

It happened, farther, that when a public assembly was convened at Sparta, the Corinthians, and the Syracusans, and Alcibiades, all urged the same request, and were successful : nay, though the college of ephori, and those who presided at the helm of the state, had dressed up a plan, in pursuance of which they were only to send their ambassadors to Syracuse to hinder all accommodations with the Athenians, and were quite averse to the supplying them with real succours ; yet Alcibiades, standing up, inflamed the Lacedæmonian fury, and wrought them to his purpose by the following harangue :—

"I lie under a necessity, in the beginning of my discourse, to vindicate myself from the calumny which has been charged against me, lest a jealousy of me might divert your attention from those points which equally affect the common cause. My ancestors, therefore, having upon some reasonable grounds of complaint renounced the privilege of being the public hosts of your embassies at Athens, I am the man who again re-established this hospitable intercourse ; who in many other respects endeavoured with great assiduity to oblige you, and particularly in the calamity which fell to your share at Pylus. I cheerfully persevered in these my favourable inclinations towards you, till you yourselves, bent on accommodating your differences with the Athenians, employed my adver-

saries to negotiate your affairs ; and as thereby you invested them with authority, you of course reflected disgrace on me. With reason, therefore, after such provocations, you were afterward thwarted by me, when I supported the interest of the Mantineans and the Argives, and introduced new measures into the state, in opposition to you. Let, therefore, such of your number as, chagrined at what they suffered then, continue unjustly their resentments against me, weigh now the force of those reasons on which I acted, and return to better temper. If again I suffer in the opinion of any man, because I have ever manifested an attachment to the interest of the people, let him also learn that his enmity to me on that account is not to be defended. We have borne, from time immemorial, a steadfast, unrelenting aversion to tyrants : now the whole of the opposition to the despotic power of one is expressed by this word, 'the people ;' and on this principle alone our firm and constant adherence to the multitude has been hitherto carried on and supported. Besides, as the state of which I was a member was purely democratical, I lay under a necessity, in many respects, of conforming my conduct to the established model ; and yet I endeavoured to give the public measures a greater share of moderation than the frantic humour of the Athenians was judged capable of brooking. But incendiaries started up ; such as, not only in earlier times, but even in our own, have driven the people to more furious measures, and have at length effected the exile of Alcibiades. But, so long as the state was in my own management, I thought myself justified, could I preserve it in that height of grandeur and freedom, and on the same model of government, in which I found it. Not but that the judicious part of our community are sensible what sort of a government a democracy is ; and I myself no less than others, who have such abundant occasion to reproach and curse it : but, for madness open and avowed, new terms of abhorrence cannot be invented ; though totally to subvert it we could in nowise deem a measure of security, while you had declared yourselves our foes, and were in the field against us : and all those proceedings of mine which have proved most offensive to you, are to be charged entirely to such principles as these.

“ And now, in relation to these points on which you are here assembled to deliberate, and I also with you, and about which I am able to give you a greater light, I am bound to

do it—attend to what I am going to declare. Our principal view in the expedition to Sicily was, if possible, to reduce the Sicilians to our yoke; after them, we intended doing the same by the Italians. We should next have attempted the dominions of the Carthaginians; nay, Carthage itself. Had these our views been successful, either in the whole or the greater part, we should soon have given the attack to Peloponnesus; assembling for that purpose the whole Grecian force, which the countries thus subdued must have added to our own; taking also into our pay large bodies of Barbarians and Iberians, and other soldiers of those nations which by general consent are famed for the most warlike of all Barbarians. We should have built also great numbers of triremes for the enlargement of our navy, as Italy would plentifully have supplied us with timber; with which, blocking up Peloponnesus on all sides, and with our land-forces invading it by land (after carrying your cities, some by storm, and some by the regular siege), we hoped without obstruction to have warred you down, and in pursuance of that to have seized the empire of universal Greece. With money and all needful stores adequate to this extensive plan, the cities to be conquered in those remoter parts would with all proper expedition have supplied us, without any demands on our own domestic revenues. Such were to be the achievements of that grand armament which is now abroad; such, you may rest assured, upon the evidence of a person who was privy to every step, was its original plan; and the generals who are left in the command will yet, if they are able, carry it into execution. And I must farther beg leave to tell you, that if with timely succours you do not interpose, nothing in those parts will be able to stand before them.

“The Sicilians are a people inexperienced in war; and yet, would they unite and combine together in their mutual defence, they might possibly even now be too hard for the Athenians. But then the Syracusans, abandoned as they are by the rest, and who already have seen their whole force defeated in battle, and who are blocked up in their own harbours by the enemy’s fleet, will be unable long to resist the great force of the Athenians which is already there. If, therefore, Syracuse be taken, all Sicily is vanquished at a stroke, and Italy becomes instantly their prey; and then the storm, which, as I intimated before, was to be directed against

you from that quarter, will in a short time gather and come pouring down upon you.

"Let no one therefore imagine that the end of your present deliberation is the safety of Sicily, when Peloponnesus itself will be endangered, unless some measures of prevention be executed with speed; unless you send out a naval force for the preservation of Sicily, so dexterously appointed, that the hands who man the ships and ply the oar may, on the instant of their landing, become a body of heavy-armed; and, what in my judgment is better than an army, a citizen of Sparta to take upon him the command, that those who are ready he may discipline to service, and force such to join as on choice would refuse their concurrence: for, by such a step, those who are already your friends will be animated with higher degrees of resolution, and those who fluctuate at present will join you with a smaller sense of fear.

"It behooves you also to make war upon the Athenians at home in a more declared and explicit manner; that the Syracusans, convinced that you have their welfare at heart, may make a more obstinate resistance, and the Athenians be rendered less able to send re-enforcements to their troops in Sicily.

"It behooves you farther to raise fortifications at Decelea in Attica; a step which the Athenians have ever most terribly apprehended, and think that in that point alone you have not put their resolution to its utmost trial in the present war; and that assuredly must be pronounced the most effectual method of distressing an enemy, to discover what he dreads most, and then know how to afflict him in his most tender part: for it is a reasonable conclusion, that they will tremble most at incidents which, should they take place, they are inwardly convinced must most sensibly affect them. As to the benefits which you yourselves shall reap by fortifying Decelea, and of what they shall be debarred, I shall pass over many, and only concisely point out the most important. By this, all the natural commodities of the country will fall into your hands; some by way of booty, the rest by voluntary contributions. They will instantly be deprived of the profits of the silver-mines at Laurium, as well as of the rents of their estates and the fees of their courts. The tributes from their dependants will also be paid with less punctuality; since the latter shall no sooner perceive that you are earnestly bent on war, than they will show an open disregard for Athens

"That these or any of these points be executed with despatch and vigour, depends, ye Lacedæmonians, on yourselves alone. I can confidently aver that all are feasible, and I think I shall not prove mistaken in my sentiments. I ought not to suffer in the opinion of any Lacedæmonian, though, once accounted the warmest of her patriots, I now strenuously join the most inveterate foes of my country; nor ought my sincerity to be suspected by any, as if I suited my words to the sharp resentments of an exile. I am driven from my country through the malice of men who have prevailed against me; but not from your service, if you hearken to my counsels. Your enmity is sooner to be forgiven, who have hurt your enemies alone, than theirs, who by cruel treatment compel friends to be foes. My patriotism is far from thriving under the injustice I have suffered; it was merely an effect of gratitude for that protection I once enjoyed from my country. Nor have I reason at present to imagine, that against my country I am now going to march, so much as to recover some country to myself, when at present I have none at all. And I judge the person to be a true lover of his country, not him who, exiled from it, abandons himself without a struggle to his own iniquitous fate, but who, from a fondness for it, leaves no project unattempted to recover it again.

"As these are my sentiments, I may fairly, ye Lacedæmonians, insist upon your acceptance of my service without diffidence or fear, whatever dangers or whatever miseries may hereafter result. You well know the maxim, which universal consent will evince to be good; that if, when an enemy, I hurt you much, when I am now become your friend, I can help you more. Nay, for the latter I am better qualified on this very account, that I am perfectly acquainted with the state of Athens; whereas I was only able to conjecture at yours: and, as you are now met together to form resolutions on points of the highest importance, I conjure you without hesitation to carry your arms at once into Sicily and Attica; to the end that, in the former, by the presence of a small part of your forces, you may work out signal preservations, and at home pull down the present and even the future growth of the Athenians; that, for ages to come, yourselves may reap security and peace, and preside at the helm of united Greece, which will cheerfully acquiesce under your guidance, and pay you a free, uncompelled obedience."

To this purpose Alcibiades spoke. And the Lacedæmonians, who had before some sort of intention to take the field against Athens, though hitherto they protracted its execution, were now more than ever animated to it, when Alcibiades had given them such a detail of affairs, whom they judged to have the clearest insight into them. Thereupon they turned their attention immediately on fortifying Decelea, and sending out a body of succour for the present service of Sicily. They also appointed Gylippus, the son of Cleandridas, to go and take upon him the command at Syracuse; with orders, by concerting measures with the Syracusans and Corinthians, to draw up a plan for the most effectual and most ready conveyance of succours thither.

Gylippus accordingly issued out his orders to the Corinthians, to attend him, without loss of time, at Asine, with two ships; and also to expedite the equipment of the fleet which they designed for this service, and to keep them in readiness to sail when opportunity should require. Having so far concerted measures, the ambassadors departed from Lacedæmon.

The Athenian trireme, also, despatched from Sicily by the generals on that post, to demand supplies of money and a body of horse, was by this time arrived at Athens; and the Athenians, on hearing their demands, drew up a decree, to send away supplies to that armament, and a body of horsemen.

And here the winter ended; and the seventeenth year of this war, of which Thucydides has compiled the history, came also to an end.

YEAR XVIII.*

On the earliest approach of the spring which led on the following summer, the Athenians in Sicily, hoisting from Catana, showed themselves on the coast of Megara, in Sicily, of which the Syracusans, having dispossessed the inhabitants in the time of Gelon the tyrant, as I have already related, continued masters of the soil. Having landed here, they ravaged the country; till, approaching a fortress belonging to the Syracusans, and attempting it without success, they retired, some by land, and the rest on board the fleet, into

* Before Christ 414.

the river Tereas; from whence, going again on shore, they ravaged the plains and set fire to the growing corn. They also fell in with a small party of Syracusans, some of whom they slew; and then, erecting a trophy, went again on board. They next returned to Catana; and, after victualling there, proceeded from thence, with their whole force, to the attack of Centoripa, a strong fort belonging to the Siculi; and, having made themselves masters of it by a capitulation, they stood away, burning down in their passage the corn of the Iacseans and Hybleans. Upon returning to Catana, they found there two hundred and fifty horsemen arrived from Athens, though without horses, yet with all the proper furniture, as if they could be better supplied with the former in Sicily; as also thirty archers, mounted, and three hundred talents in silver.*

In the same spring the Lacedæmonians also took the field against Argos, and advanced as far as Cleonæ; but the shock of an earthquake being felt there, they again retired; and after this, the Argives, making an irruption into the Thyreatis, which borders upon themselves, took a vast booty from the Lacedæmonians, which sold for no less than twenty-five talents.†

And not long after, in the same spring, the popular party at Thespis assaulted those in power, but without success; and, though the Athenians marched away to their succour, some of them were apprehended, and others were obliged to take refuge at Athens.

In the same summer, the Syracusans had no sooner received intelligence of the arrival of a body of horsemen among the Athenians, and the design of advancing immediately to assault them, than it occurred to their reflections, that, "in case the Athenians could not possess themselves of Epipolæ (a spot of ground which is only one continued crag, and lies directly above the city of Syracuse), it would be difficult to enclose them completely round with works of circumvallation, even though they should be defeated in open battle." They applied themselves therefore to the guard of all the approaches to Epipolæ, that the enemy might not on a sudden gain the eminence; for by other methods it was impossible for them to carry that post. Excepting those approaches, the rest of the tract is an impracticable steep, inclining grad-

* 58,123.

† 4843. 15a.

ually quite down to the city, and commanding the view of every thing within it. Hence, therefore, because it rises with a continual ascent, it was called by the Syracusans Epipolæ.

As Hermocrates and his colleagues had now formally taken upon them the command, the whole force of Syracuse marched out, by break of day, into a meadow, on the banks of the Anapus, to pass under review; where the first thing they did was to select seven hundred of the choicest men among the heavy-armed, to be commanded by Diomilus, an exile from Andrus. These were appointed for the guard of Epipolæ, and to be ready for service, as they were always to keep in a body, on any sudden emergence. But the Athenians, who had mustered their forces on the preceding day, had stood away from Catana, and were come in the night undiscovered to the spot called Leon, which is distant six or seven stadia* from Epipolæ, where they disembarked their land-forces, and then sent their ships to lie in the station of Thapsus. Thapsus is a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus, and jutting out into the sea, at no great distance from the city of Syracuse, either by land or by water. The naval force of the Athenians, having secured their station by a palisade across the isthmus, lay quiet in their posts; but the land-army, without loss of time, made a running march towards Epipolæ; and mounted by the pass of Euryalus, before the Syracusans, who were yet in the meadow busied in their review, discovered or were able to advance to prevent them. And now their whole force was in motion to dislodge them; each man with all possible alacrity, and more particularly the seven hundred commanded by Diomilus; but, from the meadow to the nearest spot where they could come up with the enemy, was a march of no less than twenty-five stadia.† To this it was owing that the Syracusans came to the charge in a disorderly manner; and, being plainly repulsed in battle at Epipolæ, were forced to retire within the city. Diomilus also and about three hundred more lost their lives in this engagement.

In pursuance of this, the Athenians, having erected a trophy, and given up the bodies of the slain under truce to the Syracusans, marched down the next day in order of battle to the very gates of the city: but, as the Syracusans refrained

* About half a mile

† Two miles and a half.

from sallying out against them, they then drew off, and raised a fort at Labdalum, on the very steepest edge of Epipolæ, looking towards Megara, which they intended as a repository for their baggage and money, while themselves might be called off, either to fight or to carry on the works of a siege.

Soon after this they were joined by a body of three hundred Egestean horse, and one hundred more consisting of Siculi and Naxians, and some others in their alliance. The Athenian cavalry was in all two hundred and fifty : they had procured some horses from the Egesteans and Cataneans, and had purchased the rest : so that now they had got together a body of horse amounting in all to six hundred and fifty.

A garrison was no sooner settled in the fort of Labdalum than the Athenians approached to Tyche ; where taking post, they built a wall in circle with great expedition, and by the rapidity of their work struck consternation into the Syracusans. Upon this they sallied out with the fixed design of hazarding an engagement, as they saw the danger of dallying any longer. The armies on both sides were now beginning to face each other ; but the Syracusan generals, observing that their own army was in disarray, and could not easily be formed in proper order, made them all wheel off again into the city, except a party of their horse : these, keeping the field, prevented the Athenians from carrying stones and straggling to any distance from their posts. But at length, one Athenian band of heavy-armed, supported by the whole body of their cavalry, attacked and put to flight these Syracusan horsemen. They made some slaughter among them, and erected a trophy for this piece of success against the enemy's cavalry.

On the day following, some of the Athenians began to raise a wall along the northern side of the circle ; while others were employed in carrying stones and timber, which they laid down in heaps all along the place called Trogilus, near to the line marked out for the circumvallation, which was to reach, by the shortest compass, from the great harbour on one side to the sea on the other. But the Syracusans, who were principally guided by the advice of Hermocrates, gave up all thoughts of sallying out for the future, with the whole strength of the city, to give battle to the Athenians. It was judged more advisable to run along a wall in length, which would cut the line in which the Athenian works were design-

ed to pass, and which, could they effect it in time, must entirely exclude the enemy from perfecting their circumvallation. Nay, farther, in case the enemy should come up in a body to interrupt the work, they might give them full employ with one division of their force, while another party might raise palisades to secure the approaches; at least, as the whole of the Athenian force must be drawn out to oppose them, they would be obliged to discontinue their own works. To raise therefore the projected work, they issued out of the city; and beginning at the foot of the city wall from below the Athenian circle, they carried on from thence a transverse wall, cutting down the olive-trees in the sacred grove, of which they built wooden turrets to cover their work. The Athenian shipping was not yet come round from Thapsus into the great harbour; but the Syracusans continued masters of all the posts upon the sea, and consequently the Athenians were obliged to fetch up all necessary stores from Thapsus across the land.

When it appeared to the Syracusans that all their palisades and the transverse wall were sufficiently completed, in which the Athenians had given them no manner of interruption, as they were under apprehensions that, should they divide their force, they might be exposed to a defeat, and at the same time were ardently intent on perfecting their own circumvallation, the Syracusans drew off again into the city, leaving only one band of heavy-armed for the guard of their counter-wall.

In the next place, the Athenians cut off the pipes which by subterraneous ducts conveyed the drinking-water into the city; and, having farther observed that the Syracusans kept within their tents during the heat of the day, but that some had straggled into the town, while those posted at the palisades kept but a negligent guard, they picked out three hundred of their heavy-armed, and, strengthening them with a choice party of their light-armed soldiers, ordered them to march with all possible speed and attack the counter-work. The rest of their force was to march another way, since, headed by one of the generals, it advanced towards the city, to employ the Syracusans in case they sallied: while the other detachment, headed by the other general, attacked the palisade which covered the sallyport. Accordingly, the three hundred assaulted and carried the palisade, which those

who were posted for its guard abandoned, and fled for shelter behind the works which enclosed Temenites. The pursuers however entered with them; but were no sooner got in than they were again forcibly driven out by the Syracusans; and here some of the Argives and a small number of Athenians were slain.

But now the whole army, wheeling about, demolished the counter-work, and pulled up the palisade. The piles of which it was composed they carried off in triumph, and erected a trophy.

The next morning the Athenians resumed their work of circumvallation, and continued it across the crag which is above the marsh, and lies on the quarter of Epipolæ that looks towards the great harbour. This was the shortest cut for their circumvallation downwards, across the plain and the marsh, till it reached the harbour. Upon this the Syracusans, issuing again, raised another palisade, beginning from the city, and stretching quite across the marsh. They also drew up an intrenchment along the palisade, entirely to prevent the Athenians from continuing their works quite down to the sea. The latter, when they had perfected their work along the crag, were bent on demolishing the new palisade and intrenchment of the Syracusans. For this purpose they had ordered their shipping to come about from Thapsus into the great harbour of Syracuse. They themselves, at the morning's dawn, marched down from Epipolæ into the plain; and then, crossing the marsh, where the mud was hardest and best able to bear, by the help of boards and planks which they laid upon the surface, they carried almost the whole length of the palisade and intrenchment early in the morning, and were soon after masters of the whole. This was not effected without a battle, in which the Athenians were again victorious. The routed Syracusans fled different ways; those who had composed their right, towards the city; and those who had composed their left, towards the river. But, with a view of intercepting the passage of the latter, the three hundred chosen Athenians marched with all speed to seize the bridge. The Syracusans, alarmed at this step, as the body consisted of the bulk of their horse, face about on the three hundred, and put them to flight, and then break in upon the right wing of the Athenians. By so unexpected a shock the first band in that wing was thrown into disorder. Lamachus, observing it, ad

vanced to their support from the left, with a small party of archers that happened to be near him, and the whole body of the Argives. Having crossed a ditch that lay between, seconded only by a few, while the bulk of his party made a full stop, he was instantly slain ;* as were also five or six of those by whom he was accompanied. The Syracusans caught up their bodies with all possible expedition, and bore them off to a place of security on the other side of the river. They were in great measure obliged to make a precipitate retreat, since the rest of the Athenian army was now coming up to attack them.

But now, such of the Syracusans as had fled at first towards the city, having gained leisure to observe such turns in their favour, caught fresh courage from the sight ; and, forming again into order, stood their ground against that body of Athenians which faced them. They also sent a detachment to attempt the circle on Epipolæ, concluding it to be unmanned for the present, and might at once be taken. This detachment in fact made itself master of the outwork, and demolished it for about ten plethres in length ; but the circle itself was defended by Nicias from all their attempts. Nicias, being much out of order, had been left to repose himself within the circle. He therefore issued orders to his servants to set fire to all the machines and the timber which were lying before the wall ; for he was convinced that thus alone, in such a total want of hands for their defence, any safety could be earned. The event answered his expectation ; for when the flames began to mount, the Syracusans durst not any longer come near, but thought proper to desist and march away.

For now the Athenians, who by this time had chased the enemy from off the plain, were remounting the ascent to defend their circle ; and, at the same instant of time, their fleet, conformable to the orders they had received, was standing in for the great harbour. The Syracusans upon the high

* Plutarch, in the life of Nicias, circumstantiates the manner in which the old general lost his life in character. Callicrates, a good soldier, but of great impetuosity, rode at the head of the Syracusan horse : being challenged out by Callicrates, Lamachus alone engaged personally with him. Lamachus received the first wound ; he then returned the blow, and dropped. His antagonist fell at the same time, and they both expired together.

ground beheld the sight : which occasioned them and the whole Syracusan army to retire precipitately into the city ; concluding themselves no longer able, without an augmentation of their present strength, to hinder the completion of the Athenian works quite down to the sea.

After this the Athenians erected a trophy, and, in pursuance of a truce, delivered up their slain to the Syracusans, and received in exchange the body of Lamachus, and of those who fell with him.

The junction of their whole armament, both of their land and naval force, being now completed, they began again, from Epipelæ and the crag, to invest the Syracusans with a double wall, which they were to continue quite down to the sea. The necessary provisions to supply their army were brought in from all the coasts of Italy. Many also of the Sículi, who had hitherto stood aloof, declared now for the Athenians, and came into their alliance, who were farther joined by three vessels with fifty oars from Hetruria.

All other points equally contributed to elevate their hopes : for the Syracusans had begun to despair of being able to sustain the siege, as they had no glimpse of any approaching succour from Peloponnesus. They were tossing to and fro among themselves some proposals for an accommodation, and had even sounded Nicias upon that head, who, by the death of Lamachus, was left invested with the sole command. Nothing definitive was however concluded, though, as might reasonably be expected from men in high perplexity, and more straitly besieged than ever, many proposals were made to him, and many more were agitated within the city. The distresses, also, which environed them at present, struck into them mutual suspicions of one another : nay, they even divested of their charge the generals who were in authority when these distresses came upon them, as if all was owing to their misconduct or treachery, and chose in their stead Heraclides, and Eucles, and Tellias.

In the meantime Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian, and the ships from Corinth, were come up to Leucas, designing with the utmost expedition to pass over from thence to Sicily. But terrible accounts came thick upon them here, and all agreed in broaching the same untruth, that "Syracuse was completely invested on all sides." Gylippus upon this gave up all hopes of saving Sicily ; but, having the preservation of

Italy still at heart, he and Pythen the Corinthian, with the small squadron at hand, consisting only of two Laconic and two Corinthian vessels, crossed over the Ionian Gulf with all possible despatch to Tarentum. The Corinthians, besides their own ten now fitting out, were to man two belonging to the Leucadians, and three more belonging to the Ambraciots, and follow them as soon as possible.

The first step of Gylippus, now arrived at Tarentum, was to go in quality of ambassador to Thuria, claiming privilege for it, as his father had been a denizen of that state; but, finding himself unable to gain their concurrence, he weighed from thence and stood along the coast of Italy; but in the Terinean Gulf he met with a hard gale of wind, which in this gulf, when in a northerly point, blows generally with great and lasting violence, and now drove him from his course, and blew him out into the open sea, where he stood again the rebuff of another violent storm, but at length reached Tarentum. He there laid his vessels on ground, which had been damaged in the foul weather, and refitted them for service.

When Nicias found that he was on his passage, he betrayed an open contempt of so trifling a squadron, as the Thurians had already done before him. It appeared to him, that so petty a squadron could only be fitted out for piratical cruises, and therefore he sent out no detachment to hinder his approach.

About the same time of this summer the Lacedæmonians, with their own domestic forces augmented by the junction of their allies, made an irruption into Argos, and ravaged great part of that territory. The Athenians put out to sea with thirty sail to succour the Argives, which procedure was, beyond all denial, the clearest violation of the treaties between them and the Lacedæmonians. Hitherto they had only exercised robberies upon them from Pylus; and, making descents rather on any other coast of Peloponnesus than Laconia itself, had left it to the Argives and Mantineans to make war against them. Nay, though the Argives had frequently pressed them, that with an armed force they would barely land on the Laconic coast, and, after committing never so small ravage in their company, immediately to retire, they had positively refused. But now, under the command of Pythodorus, and Læspodias, and Demaratus, they made a descent at Epidaurus-Limera and Prasia, committed large de-

vastation on the adjacent country, and afforded the Lacedæmonians a most specious and justifiable pretext to act offensively against Athens.

When the Athenian fleet had sailed homewards from Argos, and the Lacedæmonians also were withdrawn, the Argives broke into Phliasia, where they laid waste part of the Lacedæmonian territory, and made some slaughter of the people, and then returned to Argos.

BOOK VII.

The siege of Syracuse is carried on so vigorously by Nicias, that the Syracusans think of a surrender.—At this crisis arrive the Peloponnesian succours and Gylippus, the Spartan, which gives a new turn to the siege.—A counter-work is raised, to stop the Athenian circumvallation ; engagements ensue.—Nicias is now in a bad situation.—He sends home a succinct detail of affairs by letter.—A re-enforcement is ordered him from Athens, under the command of Demosthenes.—The Lacedæmonians resolve to renew the war at home.—YEAR XIX. Atica invaded, and Decelea fortified.—A naval engagement in the harbour of Syracuse, in which the Athenians are superior.—In the meantime Athens is sadly distressed by the enemy.—A massacre at Mycalesus.—A seafight on the coast of Achaia.—A second engagement in the harbour of Syracuse, to the advantage of the Syracusans.—The re-enforcement arrives from Athens.—Demosthenes attempts Epipolæ without success.—Debates about raising the siege, which at length is resolved.—The instant they are embarking the moon is eclipsed, upon which superstition detains them.—The Syracusans attack them both by land and water.—The Athenians are worsted in every engagement ; at length lose all their shipping.—They retreat by land, are pursued, sadly distressed, and totally subdued.—Nicias and Demosthenes are taken prisoners and put to death.

GYLIPPUS and Pythen, when they had refitted their ships, stood along the coast from Tarentum to Locri Epizephyrii. Here they received more certain information that Syracuse was not yet completely invested, and that a succour of force might be thrown into the town by the way of Epipolæ. They went next to consultation, whether, “keeping Sicily on the right, they should endeavour at all hazards to enter Syracuse by sea ; or, with Sicily on their left, should steer first to Himera ; from whence, attended by the forces of that state and whatever additional strength they could persuade to join them, they should march thither over land.” It was determined to go first to Himera, especially as the four Athenian vessels were not yet arrived at Rhegium, which Nicias at last, upon the certain intelligence that they were now at Locri,

had detached to observe them. To be beforehand, therefore, with this detachment, they passed through the straits, and, having touched only at Rhegium and Messene, arrive at Himera; while in the latter place, they prevailed upon the Himerians to concur with them in the war, and not only to intrust their troops under their command, but even to supply with arms such of the mariners as had navigated the vessels, and were therefore unprovided; for, their shipping they had drawn ashore, and laid up at Himera. The Selinuntians also, by a messenger despatched on purpose, they had summoned to meet them, with all their united strength, at a determined place upon their route. The Geloans also, and some of the Siculi, promised to attend with a party, though by no means considerable. The latter of these were disposed better than ever to the service, since Archonides was lately dead (who, reigning over some of the Siculi seated in these parts, and having a great influence over them, had declared for the Athenians); and since Gylippus appeared to them to be sent from Lacedæmon with a full purpose to do them service.

And now Gylippus, having assembled an army, which consisted of about seven hundred of those who navigated or came on board his vessels, and for whom he had provided arms; of heavy-armed and light-armed Himerians, amounting together to a thousand men and one hundred horsemen; of some light-armed Selinuntians; a small party of Geloan horse; and a body of Siculi, in all a thousand, began his march for Syracuse.

The Corinthians in the meantime were sending out the other ships as fast as they could equip them for the service, to follow with all possible expedition from Leucas. and Gongylus, one of the Corinthian commanders, who with a single ship set out last from Leucas, is the first who arrives at Syracuse; and that but a small space of time before the approach of Gylippus. Finding therefore, upon his arrival, that the Syracusans were going forthwith to hold a public assembly, in which the terms of putting an end to the war were designed to be adjusted, he dissuaded them from so precipitate a step, and animated their drooping resolutions by strong assurances that "other ships would instantly arrive;" and that "Gylippus, the son of Cleandridas, was sent thither by the Lacedæmonians to take upon him the command." The Sy-

racusans accordingly resumed their spirits, and immediately marched out of the town, with the whole of their strength, in order to meet Gylippus; for by this time they had received intelligence that he was actually approaching.

Gylippus, upon his route, had made himself master of Ie-gas, a fortress belonging to the Siculi; and now, at the head of his army, drawn up in order of battle, he came up to Epipolæ. Having mounted by the pass of Euryalus, as the Athenians had done on their first approach, he marched, in conjunction with the Syracusans, towards the Athenian circumvallation. He happened to arrive at that critical juncture, when the Athenians had completely finished seven or eight stadia* of the double wall extending to the great harbour; when, in consequence, but a very small part remained incomplete, and on which they were labouring with their highest application. On the other side of their circle, towards Trogilus, the stones for completing their work had been laid ready in heaps almost down to the beach, and some parts of their work on that side stood but half completed, though others had received the finishing hand. To such extremity of danger were the Syracusans now reduced.

Gylippus and the Syracusans coming thus suddenly upon them, the Athenians at first were struck with consternation; but formed, however, in order of battle, to give them a reception. But Gylippus, having ordered his forces to halt, despatched a herald to the Athenians, proclaiming that, "in case they would evacuate Sicily within the space of five days, with their arms and baggage, he would readily grant them a truce." Such offers they received in a contemptuous manner,† and, disdaining to return an answer, ordered the herald to move off. And now both sides were busy in marshalling and disposing their men for battle.

But Gylippus, who had made an observation that the Syra-

* About three quarters of a mile.

† Nicias (says Plutarch) disdained to return an answer. But some of his soldiers laughed outright, and asked, "if, at the arrival of a mantle and staff from Sparta, the Syracusans were become so full of spirits as to despise the Athenians; who had lately given up to the Lacedæmonians three hundred of their countrymen who had been their prisoners, all of them better soldiers, and who combed their hair, too, much better than Gylippus."

cusans were in great confusion, and could not easily be formed into proper order, made his army fall back into more open ground. Nicias gave them no disturbance while they were making this motion; but, without advancing, stood close under his works; and, when Gylippus found that the enemy would not move forwards to attack him, he made his forces wheel off to the high ground called Temenites, where they reposed themselves for the night.

The next morning he drew up the greatest part of his army before the works of the Athenians, to prevent their sending out succours to more distant posts; for he had detached a party to attack the fort of Labdalum, which he carried by storm, and put all the garrison found within it to the sword. Labdalum was so situated, in regard to the Athenian posts, that they could have no view of what was transacting there. The same day also an Athenian trireme, as it was entering the harbour, was taken by the Syracusans.

After so much success, the Syracusans and allies set about raising a counterwork along Epipolæ. Beginning at the city, they carried it upwards towards the single wall which had an oblique inclination; and intended that, in case the Athenians could not stop its completion, it should entirely exclude them from perfecting their circumvallation. The Athenians, having perfected their works to the sea, had now remounted the eminence; and, as some parts of their work were but weak, Gylippus drew out his army by night, and was marching to demolish those: but the Athenians, who passed the night without their works, were no sooner aware of it, than they also marched away to defend them. Upon which Gylippus, finding them alarmed, desisted, and made his army retreat to their former posts. This, however, occasioned the Athenians to raise those parts of their wall to a greater height, and to take the guard of it upon themselves, as among the body of their confederates they had divided the guard of the rest of their works, allotting a proper charge to each.

Nicias also judged it expedient to fortify the spot called Plemmyrium. Plemmyrium is a point of land over against Syracuse, which, jutting out before the great harbour, renders the mouth of it very narrow. "If this were fortified," he thought, "the importation of necessaries for the army would be better secured; because then, from a smaller distance, they could at any time command the harbour where

the Syracusan shipping lay ; and, should it be their ill fortune to be straitened by sea, might easier fetch in supplies than in the present station of their fleet at the bottom of the great harbour." Now also he began, with greater attention than before, to study how to distress them by sea ; convinced, since the arrival of Gylippus, how little room he had to hope for success by land. To this spot therefore he ordered his fleet, and drew his land-forces down, and immediately erected three forts. In these the greatest part of the baggage was laid up ; and the transports and tight ships were immediately stationed there. To this project, however, the havoc that afterward ensued among the seamen is principally to be ascribed ; for, as they suffered in this station under scarcity of water, and the mariners were frequently obliged to fetch both water and wood from a distance, since near at hand they were not to be had, the Syracusan horse, who were masters of the country, slaughtered them in abundance. The Syracusans had posted a third part of their cavalry at their fortress of Olympiæum, to bridle the marauding excursions of the enemy at Plemmyrium.

Now also Nicias received intelligence that the other Corinthian ships were in their passage. To watch their approach, he therefore detached twenty sail, who were appointed to cruise about Locri, and Rhegium, and the capes of Sicily, in order to intercept them.

Gylippus in the meantime was employed in building the counter-wall along Epipolæ, making use of the stones which the Athenians had laid ready in heaps for the continuation of their own work. It was also his daily custom to draw up the Syracusans and allies in order of battle, and lead them out beyond the point of the counter-wall ; which obliged the Athenians to draw up likewise, to observe their motions. And, when Gylippus judged he could attack them with advantage, he instantly advanced ; and, the charge being given and received, a battle ensued in the space between their respective works ; but so narrow, that no use could be made of the Syracusan and confederate horse. The Syracusans and allies were accordingly defeated. They fetched off their slain by truce, and the Athenians erected a trophy. But Gylippus, having assembled the army round him, thought proper to make this declaration in the presence of them all : —that "the defeat was not to be charged on their want of bravery, but on his own indiscretion ; he had deprived them

of the service of their own cavalry and darters, by ranging his battle in too confined a spot between the works ; that he would now again lead them out in a more judicious manner." He exhorted them, therefore, "to imprint it strong on their remembrance, that as in real strength they were not inferior, it would be intolerably disgraceful if they, who to a man were Peloponnesians and Dorians, should not manifest themselves so resolutely brave, as to conquer and drive out of their country a parcel of Ionians and islanders, and a promiscuous rabble of hungry adventurers." Having addressed them thus, he lay on the watch to seize a proper opportunity ; and, as soon as he had gained it, led them on again to the charge.

It was the opinion of Nicias, and in general of all the Athenians, that "though it was not their own interest to bring on an engagement, yet it highly concerned them to put a stop to the counter-work which the enemy was raising to hinder their progress ;" for, by this time, the wall of the Syracusans had only not overreached the extreme point to which the Athenians had brought their circumvallation, "and, should it be extended farther, it would give the enemy this double advantage,—a certainty of conquest whenever they thought proper to fight, and a discretionary power not to fight at all." Determined by these considerations, they drew out in order to give the Syracusans battle.

Gylippus soon began the engagement. He had now drawn up his heavy-armed without the works, and at a greater distance from them than before. He had posted the cavalry and the darters on a wide and open spot, yet unoccupied by the works on either side, and posted them so that they flanked the Athenians. In the ardour of the engagement, the cavalry broke in upon the left wing of the Athenians, which was ranged against them, and entirely routed them. In consequence of which, the remainder of the army was soon defeated by the Syracusans, and in the greatest disorder retired for shelter behind their works. And night no sooner came on than the Syracusans, without loss of time, began to carry forward their own works, which they soon extended beyond the Athenian circumvallation ; by which they gained this great point, that they could no longer be invested on all sides by the Athenians ; and the latter, though masters in the field, were henceforward effectually stopped from perfecting their circumvallation.

After this, twelve ships of the Corinthians, and Ambraciots, and Leucadians, the remainder of the squadron designed for this service, having given the Athenian guard-ships the slip, came into the harbour of Syracuse: they were commanded by Erasinides, a Corinthian. By these the Syracusans were now assisted in carrying on their work, till it was completely joined to the traverse wall.

Gylippus now made a circuit over Sicily, in order to promote the common cause, and to procure additional forces for the services both of land and sea; and to solicit the concurrence of such states as hitherto had manifested either no great inclination, or an open repugnance, to join in the present war. Other ambassadors were also despatched by the Syracusans and Corinthians to Lacedæmon and Corinth, instructed to solicit a speedy re-enforcement, to be transported into Sicily either in trading-vessels, or in boats, or by any other expeditious methods, since the Athenians had also sent for re-enforcements from Athens. The Syracusans also assigned complements of men to their shipping, and sedulously trained them to the service of the sea, as designing on this element also to try their fortune; nay, they laboured with alacrity and application to increase their strength in all respects.

Nicias, being sensible of this, and conscious that the strength of the enemy and his own inability became daily greater, despatched his messengers also to Athens, a custom he had ever observed, and upon all occasions, to report the particulars of his proceedings. But in his present situation it was more requisite than ever; since now he was convinced that he was environed with dangers; and unless, with the utmost expedition, they recalled their troops, or sent them another, and that a strong, re-enforcement, no hopes of preservation remained. Apprehensive, farther, that the persons he should send, either through want of proper address, or through defect of courage, or a passion to sooth the populace, might suppress the truth, he sent a true account of things in a letter written with his own hand. By this method he concluded that his own sentiments of things could not be concealed or invalidated by messengers; that the Athenians would be informed of the truth, and might accordingly adjust their resolutions. These messengers therefore departed, instructed to deliver the letter which he intrusted to their care, and what farther they were to add by word of mouth. Nicias in the meantime

kept within the limits of his camp, more anxious to guard his shattered forces from annoyance, than to plunge into fresh and spontaneous dangers.

In the close of this summer Euctemon, an Athenian general marched, in conjunction with Perdiccas and a large body of Thracians, against Amphipolis; yet could not render himself master of that city. But then, setting out from Imereum, he brought his triremes about into the Strymon, and blocked it up on the side of the river: and here this summer ended.

In the beginning of winter the messengers from Nicias arrived at Athens, where they gave such accounts of things as he had charged them to give, and resolved such questions as were asked them. They also delivered his letter, which the clerk of the state stood up and read aloud to the Athenians. The contents were these:—

“ATHENIANS,

“The many letters from time to time received from me have given you all proper information, so far as relates to past transactions; and it is now high time you should be made acquainted with our present situation, that your counsels may be adjusted in a proper manner.

“After, therefore, we had defeated, in several engagements, the Syracusans, against whom you sent us out, and when we had thrown up those works before their city within which we are at this moment lying, Gylippus the Lacedæmonian came upon us, at the head of an army, brought from Peloponnesus, and augmented by the troops of some Sicilian states. In the first battle he was routed by us; but in the last, pressed hard by their numerous cavalry and darters, we have been forced to retire within our intrenchments. Being therefore obliged, by the superior numbers of the enemy, to discontinue our circumvallation, we are this moment lying upon the defensive. Nor indeed are we able to draw out our whole force for action, as detachments of our heavy-armed are remotely employed in the guard of our works. They have farther run up a single wall to cut our lines; so that there remains no longer a possibility for us to complete the circumvallation, unless, re-enforced by a numerous body of troops, we are enabled to assault and demolish the counter-work. And, in consequence of this, we, who designed to besiege others, may with much more propriety be said to suffer a siege ourselves, at least by land: for we dare not make any

distant excursions into the adjacent country, for fear of the horse.

“What is more, they have sent ambassadors to Peloponnesus, to solicit re-enforcements. Gylippus also is making the tour of the Sicilian states, with a view to obtain the concurrence of such as are at present neutral, and to prevail with the rest to intrust their additional levies for the service both of land and sea under his command : and, according to my present intelligence, they are fully bent to attack, at one and the same time, our intrenchments, with their land forces by land, and with their ships by sea. And, though I say by sea, let not the sound be too terrible in your ears : for they know very well the present state of our navy ; which, though at first a most complete equipment, for the cleanness of the ships and the health and vigour of the seamen, yet at present has scarce a ship which is not leaky ; so long have they been necessitated to keep the sea, while their hands have daily been mouldering away : for, in fact, we have no opportunity to lay them dry and careen them, as we are under continual apprehensions of being attacked by the ships of the enemy, equal, nay, superior in number to our own. That they will attempt it we have most certain ground to believe ; but the seasons of doing it are entirely in their option, which also enables them to preserve their vessels ever fit for service, as they are not necessitated to be continually in action to strike awe into others ; nay, we should hardly be able to do the like, though the number of our shipping were much larger than it is, or though we were exempted from the necessity we now lie under of keeping guard with them all : for, in case we make the least abatement of our vigilance, we should be distressed for want of necessaries, which even now we fetch in with difficulty in the very teeth of the enemy. To this must be ascribed the great waste of our seamen which has already been made, and whose number lessens from day to day ; since, obliged to fetch wood, and water, and forage, from remote places, they are intercepted by the enemy’s horse. Even our servants, who have nothing to dread from our ruined condition, desert us daily : and such foreigners as were forced on board our fleet depart with impunity to their own cities ; while others, who were allured to the service by the greatness of our pay, and imagined they were rather come to plunder than to fight, when, contrary to their hopes, they be-

hold the enemy possessed of a numerous fleet, and making a brave resistance in every quarter, some catch at the least pretext to go over to the enemy, and others make shift to skulk away, never again to be retrieved in so wide a country as Sicily. Nay, some of those who, having attended us hither from Athens, and since prevailed with the captains of triremes to accept of the service of Hyccarian slaves in redemption of their own, have by this means subverted our naval discipline.

"I am writing to men well enlightened in naval affairs, and perfectly convinced, that the flower of an equipment is but of short duration, and how few of those on board are skilled at steering the vessel or managing the oar. But what gives me the most acute vexation is this,—that, though commander-in-chief, I am utterly unable to put a stop to these disorders, since your tempers, Athenians, are hard to be managed ; and am quite at a loss from whence to repair the waste that has been made of our seamen. The enemy have abundant resources everywhere at hand, whereas necessity points out only one to us,—that place from whence we had who now remain, and who are for ever lost : for Naxos and Catana, the cities which still persevere in our alliance, are unable to recruit us ; and, should the enemy get one circumstance more in their favour, that the towns of Italy, which at present supply us with food, deterred by the discovery of our low condition and the nonappearance of a re-enforcement from Athens, go over to the Syracusans, the war will be finished to their hands without costing them a blow, and we shall be left to the mercy of the enemy.

"I could have sent you much more pleasing accounts of things, but none so proper to give you a clear idea of the posture of your affairs here, and such as you ought to have before you proceed to deliberate upon them ; and at the same time, as I am by no means a stranger to Athenian tempers, since I know you to be fond of hearing what will give you pleasure, but are afterward inflamed with anger if any article in event drops short of your expectation, I thought it highly concerned my own safety to tell you nothing but the truth. And let me here conjure you, to entertain no resentment either against private soldiers or commanders ; since, in labouring those points which are the principal ends of the expedition, they have fully done their duty.

"But, since all Sicily is in arms against us, and since our

enemies expect a re-enforcement from Peloponnesus, resolve, without loss of time, that, as your forces are not sufficient to keep the enemy in play, they must either be recalled, or be re-enforced with a body not inferior to the first equipment, with both a land and a naval force, and a large pecuniary supply. For myself, I must insist that a successor be sent me ; since I am quite disabled by a nephritic disorder from continuing in the command : and I think I have just title to expect my dismissal from you ; since, in the vigour of my life, I have been intrusted by you with several commands, in which I did you some signal services.

“ Whatever you determine, put it in execution on the first approach of spring ; and, above all things, keep clear of delays : for the ready supplies given the enemy in Sicily will soon enable them to act ; and those expected from Peloponnesus, though they must be longer in coming up, yet, depend upon it, that, unless you exert your utmost vigilance, some of them will steal hither, as before, through all your guards, and some will infallibly be here before you.” Such were the advices brought them by the letter of Nicias. The Athenians, however, when they had heard it read, would not so far comply with the request of Nicias as to give him his dismissal ; but that, afflicted as he was in body, the whole burden of affairs might not lie too heavily upon him, they appointed two persons, already in Sicily, Menander and Euthydemus, to assist him in the command, till those who by the public vote should be joined with him in the commission could arrive. They also decreed him a re-enforcement, consisting both of a land and naval force, to be levied among the Athenians upon the roll and their dependants ; and, for colleagues to share in the command, Demosthenes the son of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon the son of Thucles. Eurymedon, by order, began his passage for Sicily about the winter solstice, at the head of ten sail of ships, and with a supply of twenty talents of silver ; * empowered, farther, to assure them, that “ a large re-enforcement will soon come up, as the state had seriously interested itself in their welfare.” Demosthenes stayed behind to forward the equipment, and was intending to set out on the first approach of spring. He was busied in assembling together their contingents from the dependant states, and in levying among them both money, and shipping, and soldiers.

* 3875*l.* sterling.

The Athenians, farther, sent out twenty sail, to cruise on the coasts of Peloponnesus, and to take care that no one passed over from Corinth and Peloponnesus into Sicily. For the Corinthians, upon the arrival of the ambassadors, and the advice they brought, that "the face of affairs was much altered for the better," priding themselves in the reflection that their former equipment had arrived in time to contribute to this turn, became now more alert than ever, and got transports in readiness to carry over a body of their own heavy-armed into Sicily, while the Lacedæmonians were intent on doing the same from other parts of Peloponnesus. The Corinthians, farther, manned out five-and-twenty sail; designing to hazard an engagement with the guard-ships stationed at Naupactus, or to disable the Athenians who lay there from giving their transports the least molestation, by keeping their own triremes ready ranged in order of battle in the very face of that squadron.

The Lacedæmonians also were preparing for an invasion of Attica, in pursuance of a former resolution, and in compliance, farther, with the pressing instances both of Syracusans and Corinthians. They had no sooner heard of the re-enforcement intended to be sent by the Athenians to Sicily, than, by making a diversion, they designed to stop its execution. Alcibiades also continued warmly importuning them to execute his plan of fortifying Decelea, and to proceed briskly with the war. But the motives which at this present juncture animated the Lacedæmonians most, were, that the Athenians, if engaged in a double war, both against themselves and against the Sicilians, must become a much more expeditious conquest; and, farther, the Athenians were the first aggressors in violating treaties. In the former war they were well convinced the first offence was chargeable on their own heads, because the Thebans had surprised Platæa while treaties were in fact subsisting. Nay, contrary to an express stipulation in a preceding treaty, that "arms should never be taken up against the party which was willing to abide by a judicial determination," they themselves had refused to submit to a trial, though claimed by the Athenians. To a conduct so ungenerous they concluded that their ill success in the war ought fairly to be imputed; and reflected, with self-accusations, not only on the calamity they had suffered at Pylus, but on all their other losses in every quarter of the

war. But now, since the Athenians, with an equipment of thirty sail, had committed devastations at Epidaurus, at Prasias, and at other places, and continued to infest their dominions by robberies from Pylus; nay, as often as disputes had intervened about the intent of articles in the last treaty, in which the Lacedæmonians appealed to a judicial determination, the others had haughtily refused it: concluding hence, that the Athenians were become as guilty aggressors now as themselves had been on the former occasion, with cheerful presages of success, they determined for war. In order to it, they demanded this winter from their allies their contingents of iron, and got all the needful materials in readiness to execute their plan of fortification. Resolved, at the same time, to transport an aid to Sicily in vessels of burden, they began to levy it at home, and exacted the quotas of augmentation from their confederates. And thus the winter ended; and the eighteenth year of this war, of which Thucydides has compiled the history, came also to an end.

YEAR XIX.*

The following spring no sooner approached, than, at an earlier date than on any former occasion, the Lacedæmonians and allies invaded Attica; and Agis, the son of Archidamus, King of the Lacedæmonians, had the command of the army. At first they ravaged the country, particularly the plains; and this being done, having allotted out the work in portions to the several states, they set out about fortifying Decelea. Now Decelea is distant at most but one hundred and twenty stadia† from the city of Athens, and lies at the same distance or very little more from Bœotia; but in the plain, and on the finest spot of ground, from whence effectually to annoy them, was their fortress raised; and might be seen from the very walls of Athens.

In this manner the Peloponnesians and allies erected a fortress within Attica itself; while, in the same portion of time, their friends in Peloponnesus embarked a body of heavy-armed on board their transports, and sent them off for Sicily. For this service the Lacedæmonians picked out from the very best of the Helots, and of those citizens of Sparta

* Before Christ 413.

† About 12 miles.

who were newly enfranchised, from both together, six hundred heavy-armed, and appointed Heccritus, a Spartan, to command them : and the Boeotians sent three hundred heavy-armed, commanded by Xeno and Nicon of Thebes, and Hegesander of Thespiæ. These were first embarked at Tænarus in Laconia, and thence put out to sea.

Soon after these the Corinthians sent away five hundred heavy-armed ; some from Corinth itself, others hired from the Arcadians ; and appointed Alexarchus, a Corinthian, to command them. The Sicyonians also sent two hundred heavy-armed along with the Corinthians, and at their head Sargeus a Sicyonian.

But the five-and-twenty sail of Corinthians, which launched out to sea in the depth of winter, lay ranged in an opposite station to the twenty Attic at Naupactus, to give leisure for the embarkation of the heavy-armed on board the transports from Peloponnesus. On this account, principally, they were manned and fitted out to sea, that they might divert the attention of the Athenians from the transport-fleet that was now putting out, and fasten it wholly upon the hostile appearance of these triremes.

In the meantime the Athenians, even during the fortifications in hand at Decelea, and at the earliest approach of spring, sent out thirty sail to cruise on the coasts of Peloponnesus, under the command of Charicles, the son of Apollodorus. His instructions were, farther, to touch at Argos, and to summon them, in conformity to the treaty of alliance, to embark a body of heavy-armed on board the fleet.

Demosthenes, also, according to promise, they sent away for Sicily, with a numerous fleet, consisting of sixty ships of Athens and five of Chios, on board of which were twelve hundred enrolled Athenians, and as large a number of islanders as with the utmost industry they had been able to draw together. They had also amassed, from their other confederates subject to Athens, all manner of supplies they were able to furnish for carrying on the war with vigour. But Demosthenes was farther instructed to sail at first in company with Charicles, and assist him in the cruise on the coast of Laconia. Demosthenes, therefore, having stood over to Ægina, continued there till the remainder of his force, which was yet behind, had completely joined him, and Charicles had taken on board the Argive auxiliaries.

About the same time in this spring Gylippus also returned to Syracuse, at the head of as large a force as he could collect from the different states with whom his persuasions had been effectual; and, having convened the Syracusans, he told them that "they ought to man out as large a number of shipping as they possibly could, and try their fortune in a naval engagement; such a step, he had reason to hope, might be attended with consequences which would amply compensate the danger, and invigorate the war."

These instances of Gylippus were well seconded by Hermocrates, who took uncommon pains to encourage his countrymen to attack the Athenians by sea. "The latter," he told them, "were far from enjoying their naval skill as an hereditary right, or a privilege from time immemorial exclusively their own. In fact, they were by nature landmen much more than the Syracusans; and necessity alone, in the Medish invasion, had forced them to try their fortune at sea. By enterprising men, as the Athenians were, such as were most daring in opposing them must needs be regarded as the most formidable enemies. True, they had been used to intimidate their neighbours, not by a real superiority of strength, but by their daring, enterprising genius; and now, by the same methods, themselves might become formidable even to the Athenians." He assured them, "for his own part, he was perfectly convinced that the Syracusans, if by an effort of bold resolution they would on a sudden attack the Athenian fleet, might reap more benefit from the terror which such a step would strike upon the foe, than could accrue to the Athenians from their superior skill when compared with Syracusan inexperience." He pressed them, therefore, "to try their fortune by sea, and bid adieu to fear."

Thus animated by Gylippus, and by Hermocrates, and by others, the Syracusans were eagerly bent on action by sea, and manned out their fleet: and when the whole was ready for service, Gylippus, by favour of the night, at the head of his land army, marched down to the forts at Plemmyrium, intending to assault them on the land side. The triremes of the Syracusans, at the same instant of time, as had been concerted beforehand, to the number of thirty-five, were sailing up out of the great harbour, while forty-five were going about out of the lesser harbour where their dock lay. The latter went round, designing to complete their junction with the other

squadron, and then in a body to stand against Plemmyrium, that the Athenians on both sides might be thrown into confusion. The Athenians lost no time, but instantly manned out sixty vessels. With twenty-five of the number they engaged the thirty-five Syracusan in the great harbour; with the rest they went to meet the other squadron, that was coming about from the dock. A smart engagement immediately ensued, in the mouth of the great harbour. The dispute was a long time obstinately maintained; one side exerting themselves to clear the passage, but the other to obstruct it.

In the meantime Gylippus,—as the Athenians posted at Plemmyrium had flocked down to the seaside, and with their utmost attention were looking at the battle on the water,—Gylippus seized the opportunity; and, no sooner had the morning dawned, than, to the great surprise of the enemy, he attacks the forts. He first makes himself master of the largest of the three, and afterward carries the two lesser, the defendants of which, seeing the largest so easily taken, had abandoned their posts; nay, on the surprisal of the first, those who had manned it, throwing themselves on board the boats and a transport that lay at hand, found no small difficulty in getting away to the camp; for, as the Syracusans had now the better of the engagement with their squadron in the great harbour, they detached one of their nimblest triremes to pursue the fliers. But, at the time the other two forts were carried, the Syracusans were plainly vanquished, which gave them who abandoned the last an opportunity to sail away without obstruction: for that Syracusan squadron that was engaged before the harbour's mouth, having forced their way through the Athenian fleet, by sailing forward in a disorderly manner, and continually running foul one upon another, gave the Athenians an opportunity to regain the day: for this squadron they soon routed, and afterward that within the harbour, by which they had been vanquished. They also sank eleven ships of the enemy, and made a slaughter of all their crews, those of three ships excepted, to whom they granted quarter; and all this with the loss only of three ships on their own side. Having afterward drawn ashore the shatters of the Syracusan fleet, and piled them into a trophy on the little isle before Plemmyrium, they retired to their main encampment.

Thus unsuccessful were the Syracusans in their naval en-

gement. They had carried, however, the forts at Plemmyrium; and, to signalize each of their acquisitions, they erected three several trophies. One also of the two forts that were taken last they levelled with the ground, but the other two they repaired and garrisoned.

In this surprisal of the forts many were slain, and many were made prisoners, and a great stock of wealth repositied there became the prize of the enemy: for, as the Athenians had made use of these forts by way of magazine, much wealth belonging to merchants, and corn in abundance, were found within: much also of the stores belonging to the captains of the ships of war, inasmuch as forty masts for triremes, and other materials of refitment, had been laid up there; and three triremes were hauled ashore to be careened. Nay, this surprisal of Plemmyrium was one of the chief, if not the greatest source of all the distress which the Athenian army suffered in the sequel; for no longer was the sea open to them for the secure importation of necessary supplies. From this time the Syracusans rushed upon them from thence, and awed all their motions. The convoys could no more get in without fighting their way. Besides that, in all other respects, it struck a great consternation, and even a dejection of mind, among the troops.

The next step taken by the Syracusans was to send out to sea a squadron of twelve ships, under the command of Agatharchus, a Syracusan. One of these ships was to proceed to Peloponnesus, and land an embassy there, which had instructions "to notify a present hopeful posture of affairs, and to press the prosecution of the war in Greece with all possible vigour." The other eleven stood over to the Italian coast, having received intelligence that a number of small vessels, laden with stores for the Athenians, were coming up. They intercepted and entirely destroyed most of these; and the timber on board them, which was ready wrought for the Athenians to frame together into ships, they burnt to ashes on the shore of Caulonia. This done, they stood away for Locri; add, while they lay in that road, one of the transports from Peloponnesus, having on board the heavy-armed from Thespiæ, came in. The Syracusans removed those heavy-armed into their own ships, and returned with them to Syracuse.

The Athenians with twenty sail were stationed at Megara,

in order to intercept their return ; where one ship alone, with all the crew, fell into their hands. They were not able to come up with the rest ; since, eluding all pursuit, they recovered with security their own harbours.

There happened also a skirmish, in the harbour of Syracuse, about the piles which the Syracusans had driven down in the sea before their old docks, that their vessels might ride in safety behind them, and the Athenians be unable to stand in among them and do any damage to their shipping. Close up to those piles the Athenians had towed a raft of prodigious size, on which turrets and parapets to cover the defendants were erected, while others in long boats were fastening cables round the piles, and, by the help of a machine convenient for the purpose, craning them up ; and such as they broke, a set of divers sawed off close at the bottom. The Syracusans in the meantime were pouring their missive weapons upon them from the docks, which were plentifully returned by those posted on the raft. In short, the Athenians plucked up most of the piles ; but one part of the stoccade was exceeding difficult to be demolished, as it lay out of sight ; for they had driven down some of the piles in such a manner that their heads emerged not above the surface of the water. This rendered all access exceeding dangerous ; since, ignorant where they lay, a pilot would be apt to bulge his vessel as if it were upon a shelf. But even these the divers, for a pecuniary reward, searched out and sawed away. And yet, as fast as this was done, the Syracusans drove down a fresh set of piles. The contrivances both of annoyance and prevention were strenuously exerted on both sides, as might justly be expected from two hostile bodies posted so near one another ; the skirmishings were often renewed, and every artifice of war was successively practised.

The Syracusans, farther, had despatched embassies, composed of Corinthians, and Lacedæmonians, and Anibraciots, to the cities of Sicily, “to notify the surprisal of Plemmyrium, and to give a just representation of the naval engagement in which they had been defeated ; not so much by the strength of the enemy as by their own confusion : in other respects to assure them, that their hopes of success were high, and that they firmly depended on receiving soon an aid from them, composed both of a land and naval force : since the Athenians were also in expectation of a re-enforcement from

Athens, the approach of which, would their friends anticipate, the Athenians at present there must be totally destroyed, and the war brought at once to an end." Such schemes were now in agitation in Sicily.

But Demosthenes, when he had assembled the whole of the armament with which he was to pass over to the relief of those in Sicily, weighing from Ægina, and standing over to Peloponnesus, completed his junction with Charicles and the squadron of thirty sail of Athenians under his command; and, as a body of heavy-armed had been taken on board the latter from Argos, they steered together for the coast of Laconia. And here, first, they ravaged in part Epidaurus Limera; and proceeding from thence to that part of Laconia which lies over against Cythera, and where stands the temple of Apollo, having ravaged part of the adjacent country, they enclosed and fortified a neck of land which might serve as a receptacle to such of the Helots as deserted the Lacedæmonians; from thence, banditti-like, as was done from Pylus, to infest the country. This convenient spot was no sooner taken in than Demosthenes stood away for Corcyra, that he might take on board the auxiliaries there, and make the best of his way to Sicily. But Charicles stayed till he had put the place into a state of secure defence, and fixed a garrison in it. This being done, he carried back his squadron of thirty sail to Athens, and the Argives at the same time received their dismissal.

This summer there arrived at Athens thirteen hundred Thracian targetiers, of those called Machærophori, and who were originally Dians. This body was intended to have been sent with Demosthenes into Sicily; but, as they arrived not till after his departure, the Athenians had resolved to send them back again to their own homes in Thrace. To retain them merely for the sake of the war waged against them from Decelea, they thought, would plunge them in too large an expense, since the pay of every soldier was a drachma* a day: for now, since Decelea, which had been fortified this spring by the joint labours of the whole united army, continued to be garrisoned by detachments from the several states, which at certain intervals of time relieved one another in a regular succession, it gave terrible annoyance to the Athenians, and

caused among them such havoc of their effects, and such a destruction of their men, as threw them into great distress. All preceding incursions of the enemy having been only transient, had left them in the peaceable enjoyment of their lands for the rest of the year; but now, as they awed the country by one continued blockade, and as by intervals they received considerable augmentations to enable them to give greater annoyance, as even the regular garrison was periodically obliged to scour the country and plunder for their own subsistence; and as Agis, King of the Lacedæmonians, who with the utmost diligence prosecuted the war, in person directed all the operations, the Athenians were sorely pressed: for they were debarred the whole produce of their own lands; more than twenty thousand of their slaves had deserted to the enemy, and a large part of these were mechanics of the city; their whole stock of sheep and labouring cattle was lost beyond retrieve; their horses,—as the horsemen were obliged every day to mount, either to ride towards Decelea, to awe the excursions of that garrison, or to guard some important posts in the country,—their horses were either lamed by running incessantly over hard or rugged ground, or by wounds were disabled for service; the constant supplies of provisions for the city, which used to be fetched from Eubœa to Oropus, and to be brought in from thence through Decelea as the shortest passage, were now forced to go round the cape of Sunium by sea, which considerably enhanced their price. For want also of foreign commodities the city was equally distressed; and Athens was now reduced to be merely a place of arms. To keep guard on the battlements by day, the citizens were obliged successively to relieve one another; but the whole body of the city, except the horsemen, mounted guard by night. The latter ever under arms without, the rest on the constant guard of the city walls, and this for a summer and winter without any intermission, were reduced to a very low condition. But the point which pressed hardest upon them was, having two wars at once upon their hands; and yet their obstinacy had risen to so high a pitch, as, had it not been visible to all the world, the bare mention of its possibility would have been quite incredible: for who would have believed that this people, so closely blocked up at home by the Peloponnesians, should scorn to give up Sicily? nay, should persevere, with unabating zeal, to carry

on the siege of Syracuse, a city in no respect inferior even to Athens itself? that they should exhibit such an astonishing proof of their strength and their courage to the eyes of Greece; where, upon the first breaking out of the war, some people had imagined that, in case the Peloponnesians invaded Attica, they could not hold out above one year entire, though others had allowed them two, and others three, but nobody a longer space; and that, in the seventeenth year after the first invasion of this kind, they should attempt the conquest of Sicily; and, when deeply gashed in every part, by one war already upon their hands, should wilfully plunge into another, as formidable in all respects as that waged against them from Peloponnesus? But now, when, besides what they had suffered already, they were terribly annoyed from Decelea, and other incidents had exacted from them very large disbursements, their finances were reduced to a very low ebb. At this period, therefore, instead of the tribute paid them by their dependants, they exacted a twentieth of the value of all commodities imported and exported, which they thought would replenish their coffers faster than the former method; for their disbursements were not as they had been in preceding times, but had been increased in the same proportion as the scenes of war had been enlarged, while their annual revenue was constantly decreasing.

Unwilling, therefore, in the present ebb of their treasures, to defray the charge of this body of Thracians, who came too late for Demosthenes, they sent them back to their own country with all possible haste. Diitrephes was the person pitched upon to conduct them home; and was instructed, that "in the passage (for they were to go through the Euripus) he should employ them, if opportunity offered, against the enemy." He landed therefore near Tanagra, and in a hurrying manner carried off a booty from thence. About the shut of evening he also crossed the Euripus from Chalcis of Eubœa; and, having landed his Thracians in Bœotia, led them against Mycalessus. His design was not discovered that night, though he halted at the temple of Mercury, which is distant from Mycalessus but sixteen* stadia at most. But early the next morning he assaulted this city, which is of large extent: he carried it on the first attack, as there was no guard to resist him, and the inhabitants could never have imagined that

* More than a mile and a half.

a maritime body would have marched so far into the country to make attempts upon them. The wall, besides, was weak : in some places it was fallen, and the remaining part of it was low ; and the gates, from too great a confidence of security, had been left open. No sooner had the Thracians broken into Mycalessus, than they gutted both houses and temples ; they massacred the inhabitants, showing no regard to either old age or youth, but venting their fury on all that came in their way ; they butchered even the women and the children ; nay, all the labouring cattle, and every creature that had life which came before their eyes ; for the Thracians, when once their fury is inflamed, are as insatiable of blood as any other the greatest savages in the barbarian world. On this occasion the confusion was terrible, and every ghastly method of destruction was exemplified in act ; they even fell upon the public school, which was a very large one, when the youth of the town had but just got in, and hacked all the children to pieces. And thus this whole city was involved in a calamity, a greater than which no city had ever felt : nay, a calamity unexpected and dreadful indeed !

The Thebans had no sooner intelligence of it than they marched to their assistance ; but came not up with the Thracians till they were retired to some distance from the town, where they recovered from them their booty, and, having put them to flight, continued the chase down to the Euripus and the sea, where the vessels which had brought them lay at anchor. Here they made a slaughter of most of those who endeavoured to get on board, but could not swim ; since the persons left in the vessels, when they saw what passed on the shore, put them off beyond their reach. But, in the other parts of the retreat, the Thracians behaved with some gallantry against the Theban horse, which attacked them first ; since, sallying frequently out on their pursuers, and rallying again after the discipline of their country, they made good their retreat ; and thus few of this body were destroyed. A number, farther, who stayed behind in the city to plunder, were found there and put to the sword. The whole number of the slain among this body of thirteen hundred Thracians amounted to two hundred and fifty men ; though, in return, they killed of Thebans, and others who accompanied by way of aid, of horse and heavy-armed together, about twenty, and Skirphondas of Thebes, one of the rulers of Bœotia : the lives

of some more Mycalessians were also lost in their company. Such was the calamity which fell to the unhappy lot of Mycalessus ; and which, for excess of horror, is more to be deplored than any other of the tragical events of this war.

Demosthenes, who, after marking out the fortification, had stood away from Laconia to Corcyra, surprising a transport vessel which rode at anchor in the road of Phia of the Eleans, on board of which a number of heavy-armed Corinthians were to pass over into Sicily, sunk that vessel : but the mariners, having saved themselves by flight, found afterward another vessel, and proceeded on the voyage.

From hence Demosthenes came up to Zacynthus and Cephalene, where he took their heavy-armed on board, and sent for those of the Messenians from Naupactus. He also crossed over to the opposite continent of Acarnania, to Alyzia and Anactorium, both belonging to the Athenians. Thus employed as he was in augmenting his force, Eurymedon, returning from Sicily, whither he had been sent in the winter to carry a supply of money for the army, met him ; and, among other intelligence, relates, that " he had heard, since he was upon his return, that Plemmyrium had been taken by the Syracusans." Conon also, who commanded at Naupactus, came to them with advice, that " the five-and-twenty sail of Corinthians which lay over against their squadron had not quitted that station, and even threatened them with an engagement." He exhorted, therefore, these commanders to detach some vessels thither, since their squadron at Naupactus, consisting only of eighteen ships, was not a match for the enemy, whose squadron amounted to twenty-five. Upon this Demosthenes and Eurymedon detached ten of the prime sailers, among those under their own command, to follow Conon for the re-enforcement of the squadron at Naupactus.

The two former continued to assemble forces for the grand expedition. Eurymedon, for this purpose, sailed to Corcyra commanded them to man out fifteen ships, and selected himself the heavy-armed for the service ; for, as he was returned from carrying the stores, he joined himself with Demosthenes in the command, in pursuance of the prior nomination. Demosthenes was collecting a body of slingers and darters from the towns of Acarnania.

The ambassadors from Syracuse, who were sent round to

the Sicilian cities after the surprisal of Plemmyrium, had succeeded in their negotiations ; and, having assembled a large body of succours, were intent on bringing them up. Nicias, who had gained an early intelligence of their motion, sent to such of the Siculi as lay upon their route and were in his alliance (namely, the Centoripeæ, and Alicyæans and others), "by no means to yield a free passage to the enemy, but to assemble in a body and obstruct their march." It was impossible for them to reach Syracuse by any other route ; for the Agrigentines had refused them a passage through their territories. Now, therefore, the Sicilians being on their march, the Siculi, in compliance with the request of the Athenians, had placed three different ambuscades in their way. From these rushing suddenly upon them, as they were advancing in a careless manner, they destroyed about eight hundred men, and all the ambassadors, except one Corinthian ; and this Corinthian brought up afterward to Syracuse all those who escaped by flight, the number of whom amounted to fifteen hundred.

About the same time the Camarineans also sent up a body of succours, consisting of five hundred heavy-armed, three hundred darters, and three hundred archers. The Geloans also sent them a squadron of about five sail, besides four hundred darters and two hundred horsemen.

Now almost all Sicily, except the Agrigentines (for these still adhered to their neutrality), all the rest of the island, I say, who hitherto had stood aloof to observe events, united themselves against the Athenians in behalf of Syracuse : though the Syracusans, after the blow they had just received from the Siculi, thought it not proper to attack the Athenians again upon a sudden.

But Demosthenes and Eurymedon, having now completed their embarkations at Corcyra and on the continent, at the head of this united and powerful armament crossed over the Ionian to Cape Japygia ; and, standing away from thence, reached the Chærades, islands of Japygia. Here they took on board their fleet a party of Japygian darters, to the number of fifty, and one hundred more of the Messapian nation ; and, after they had renewed a friendship of ancient date with Artas (who, being lord of these islands, supplied them with the darters), they proceeded to Metapontium in Italy. Upon the plea of an alliance subsisting between them, they pre-

vailed upon the Metapontians to furnish them out three hundred more, and two triremes, with which augmentation they stood along the coast to Thuria; where, on their arrival, they found that the party who had acted against the Athenian interest had in a late sedition been driven out of the city. Desirous here to take a view of the whole armament, and to know whether any part had straggled and was left behind; hoping, farther, to prevail upon the Thurians to join them with their forces in the most cordial manner; and, since their welfare was connected with that of Athens, to declare the friends and foes of the Athenians to be equally their own, they stayed some time at Thuria, and completed their designs.

To return to the Peloponnesians. About the same portion of time, their squadron of five-and-twenty sail, which, to favour the passage of the transports to Sicily, lay ranged in opposition to the fleet at Naupactus, having now made all things ready for an engagement, and equipped out some additional vessels, which had almost equalised their number to that of the Athenian ships, take their station at Rhyppica, near Eri-neus of Achaia. As the place in which they rode was bent in the form of a crescent, the land-force of the Corinthians and the adjacent confederates, who marched to their assistance, was posted upon each wing of the squadron, on the jutting necks of land, while the ships drawn up close together composed the centre of their arrangement; and Polyarchus the Corinthian commanded the fleet.

The Athenians, with three-and-thirty sail, under the command of Diphilus, weighed from Naupactus and stood in against them. At first, the Corinthians lay still without motion; but, so soon as it was judged necessary for them to act, and the signal-flag was accordingly hoisted, they advanced to charge the Athenians, and an engagement ensued. The contention was maintained a long time on both sides. Three of the Corinthian vessels were destroyed, while not a single ship on the Athenian side was sunk, though seven were disabled for service by blows they had received from the enemy's beaks, by which their forecastles had been shattered by the Corinthian ships, made firm and compact for this very purpose by stays on each side of the beak. The event of the engagement remaining doubtful, from whence both sides took occasion to claim the victory, the Athenians however being masters

of all the wreck of the enemy's fleet, which the wind drove right into the sea, and which the Corinthians made no efforts to recover, they dropped away from each other. Yet no kind of pursuit was attempted, and no prisoners were taken by either: for the Corinthians and Peloponnesians, who fought close under the shore, were by that enabled to make an easy escape; but, on the Athenian side, not even a single ship was sunk: and yet, when the Athenians had sailed back to Naupactus, the Corinthians immediately set up a trophy, as if the victory was their own, because they had disabled a larger number of the enemy. They farther looked upon themselves as not defeated, because their enemies were not clearly victorious: for it is the way with the Corinthians to pronounce themselves victors if they are not sadly beaten; whereas, the Athenians esteem themselves defeated if they have not made a signal conquest. But farther, when the Peloponnesians had retired from their station, and the land-army was dismissed, the Athenians erected a trophy. The spot they chose whereon to place this token of their victory was distant about twenty stadia* from Erineus, the station in which the Corinthians rode. Such was the event of this naval engagement.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon, so soon as the Thurians had got in readiness seven hundred heavy-armed, with three hundred darters, to attend them in the expedition, ordered the fleet to coast along the shore towards the Crotoniatis; while themselves, after having taken a review of all their land-army upon the banks of the Sybaris, marched them over land through the Thuriatis. But, when they were advanced to the river Hylas, they were met by a messenger from the Crotoniatis, intimating to them that "their consent should never be given for the passage of this army through their dominions;" upon which they wheeled off downwards towards the sea and the mouth of the Hylas, where they halted a night, and were joined by the whole body of the fleet.

The next morning they re-embarked and proceeded along the coast, touching at every city except Locri, till they arrived at Petra, in the district of Rhegium.

But, during this interval, the Syracusans, who had received advice of the approach of the re-enforcement, determined to

* About two miles.

make another attempt with their fleet and the whole augmented body of their land-army, which they had assembled together for this very design of attacking the Athenians again before the re-enforcement arrived. But, like men who in the former action had clearly perceived what would give them advantages over the enemy, they had made some alteration in the structure of their vessels ; having shortened the heads of their ships, they made them more firm and compact, and fastened very substantial stays to each side of the beak ; they strengthened these again by rafters of six cubits in length, which were laid along the ribs both within and without, in the same manner as the Corinthians had strengthened the whole prow of their ships for the last naval engagement against the squadron at Naupactus. By these means the Syracusans concluded they should gain an advantage over the ships of the Athenians, which were of a different structure, as in the prow they were but weak, because of their usual practice, in an engagement, not to charge ahead, but by tacking about to strike upon the sides ; that, farther, should the battle be fought in the great harbour, where sea-room would be small and the ships be crowded, this must be also an advantage in their favour ; since, darting themselves ahead, they must needs shatter the prows of the enemy, when with compact and solid beaks they struck against such as were hollow and weak : that again, for want of sea-room, the Athenians would be too much straitened to make their tacks, or to run through their lines, which were points of art on which they chiefly relied ; they were determined to the utmost of their power to check all attempts of the latter sort, and the narrow space in which they must engage would of itself prevent the former ; and now they intended with dexterity to turn to their own advantage the method of striking ahead, which on the former occasion appeared to be an error in the masters ; that hence infallibly the day must be their own ; for the Athenians, if once repulsed, would not have room to go round and return to the charge, since thus they must directly be forced on the shore, which lay but a small distance from their camp, and would sadly cramp them up ; that they themselves must be masters of the rest of the harbour, while the enemy, crowded together, in case they should be forced to give way, must be driven into narrow compass, and even falling foul on one another, a total confusion and disorder

must certainly follow : for, what hurt the Athenians most, in all their naval engagements, was their inability to make use of the whole harbour for tacking about or returning to the charge, in the same manner as the Syracusans : that, finally, the Athenians could not possibly get out into wider sea, as the entrance of the harbour and the space behind the lines of battle were in their own command ; nay, other obstacles would co-operate, such as Plemmyrium, which would now oppose any attempt of this kind, and the very nature of the harbour's mouth, which was exceeding narrow.

By such a project the Syracusans had given an increase to their former skill and strength ; and, animated more than ever by the thought of having improved from their errors in the former engagement, they sallied out to encounter the enemy both with their land and naval force. Gylippus showed himself a small portion of time before the rest at the head of the infantry ; whom, sallying out of the city, he drew up near the Athenian intrenchment, in that quarter where it faced the city. Then the garrison of Olympiæum, to a man, as well heavy-armed as horsemen, with all the light-armed parties of the Syracusans, came and drew up on the other quarters ; and, immediately after, the ships of the Syracusans and their allies came sailing forwards.

The Athenians at first imagined that at present they were threatened only with an assault by land ; but when, on a sudden, they saw the fleet bearing down against them, they were struck with confusion. Some of them were taking post upon and without the intrenchments, to make head against the assailants ; others had sallied forth to encounter the troops from Olympiæum, and those from remoter parts coming on with full speed, a numerous body of horsemen and darters. The rest were hurrying on board to man the ships, or to give what assistance they could upon the beach : and no sooner were the proper complements on board, than seventy-five ships stood out to meet the enemy ; but then the number of the enemy's vessels was about eighty.

Great part of this day was spent in advancing towards and retiring from one another, and in reciprocal endeavours to seize advantages : but neither side was able to execute any remarkable piece of service, excepting that the Syracusans sank one or two of the Athenian ships ; upon which they parted, and at the same time the land-army drew off from the intrenchments.

The day following the Syracusans lay quiet, affording the enemy no room to guess at their future designs.

But Nicias, conscious to himself that hitherto no advantages had been gained by sea, and fully expecting that the enemy would repeat their attempt, obliged the captains of the triremes to repair their ships if anywise damaged, and stationed the transports before the piles which they had driven down in the sea, to secure the ships, and lock up as it were that space in which they lay. The transports he ranged in a line, at the distance of the breadth of two plethra* from one another; that, in case a ship was repulsed, it might run in hither as a place of security, and might again stand out without any molestation. In perfecting these dispositions the Athenians were all this day employed from morning to night.

The next day the Syracusans, earlier in the morning than before, and with the same parade of their land and naval force, came out to attack the Athenians. Now again, facing each other in the lines of the engagement, they spent great part of the day in the same endeavours as before to overreach and surprise one another; till at length Aristo, the son of Pyrrhicus, a Corinthian, and the most expert seaman in the fleet of Syracuse, persuaded the commanders of that fleet to despatch their orders to the magistrates within the city, "with all expedition to bring the provisions which were for sale down to the beach of the sea, and hold the market there; nay, farther, to compel all those who had any meat to sell to offer it instantly on the beach, that the mariners might come ashore and dine under the sides of their vessels; so that, after a short repast, they might this same day unexpectedly fall upon the Athenians." This counsel being approved, the necessary orders were despatched away, and the market was furnished out. Then suddenly the Syracusan fleet fell back, and stood away towards the city; where, disembarking with all possible haste, they took their repast.

But the Athenians, who ascribed this dropping off of the enemy to a consciousness of their own inferiority, quitting their own ships as if there was nothing farther to be done, diverted their attention to their own affairs, and especially to prepare a refreshing meal for themselves, confident there would

* A plethron is said by some to contain 1444, by others, 1000 square feet.

be no engagement on this day : but, on a sudden, the Syracusans, repairing on board, stood out a second time to give them battle. Then the Athenians, in much hurry and confusion, and most of them still fasting, re-embarking without any regularity or order, with great difficulty, after a considerable interval, stood out to receive them. For a certain space each stood upon their guard, and declined the charge. At length it occurred to the Athenians that it was imprudent to dally so long, and exhaust their spirits by the mere labour of the oar, which ought rather to be exerted on an expeditious attack. Upon which, animating one another with a shout, they darted upon the enemy, and the engagement began.

The Syracusans received the first shock without giving way, and, keeping the heads of their vessels right against the enemy, executed their project, and with their strengthened beaks shattered the forecastles of the Athenian ships ; while their darters, who were ranged along the decks, galled the Athenians sorely with their missive weapons ; though not near so much as did the crews of some light Syracusan boats, which scoured about the enemy's fleet ; sometimes getting under their wards and gliding along the sides of their vessels, and from these close positions aiming their darts at the mariners. In fine, the Syracusans, persevering in this manner to gall their foes, were masters of the day ; while the Athenians, being put to flight, were obliged to retire, through the intervals of the line of transports, into their own station. The Syracusan ships pursued as far as to this line of transports ; but were obliged to stop there, for fear of the machines* which hung upon the yards of the transports to bar all approach. Two ships, indeed, of the Syracusans, elevated with success, approached too near, and were sunk ; and another, with all her crew, was taken by the enemy. And now the Syracusans, who in the action had sunk seven ships of the enemy, had damaged many, had taken many prisoners, and made great slaughter, judged it proper to retire. They then erected trophies as victorious in two engagements, and plumed themselves in the assurance, that by sea they had the superiority over the enemy ; presuming, at the same time,

* Called *dolphins*, from their form. They were massy, made of lead, and hung upon the sail-yards by cords and pulleys ; and, when thrown into the enemy's ships, either burst or sunk them.

that they must soon be victorious also by land : upon which they got every thing in readiness to attack them once more on both elements.

But at this crisis Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived at the head of the re-enforcement from Athens ; which consisted of seventy-three sail of ships, including foreigners ; of about five thousand heavy-armed of their own and their confederate troops ; besides a considerable number of darters, as well Barbarian as Grecian, and slingers, and archers, and a complete supply of all military stores. The first appearance of this grand re-enforcement struck the Syracusans and their allies with no small consternation. It looked as if the war must be endless, and themselves exposed to dangers that knew no bounds. They saw that, in spite of the annoyance which Decelea, now fortified, gave them, the Athenians were arrived before Syracuse with another armament as great and as formidable as the former ; and that, in every view, the strength of Athens must be quite insurmountable. And now also the Athenians, who remained of the former armament, respired from that dejection of spirit into which a series of misfortunes had plunged them.

Demosthenes, after taking a view of the present posture of affairs, thought it absolutely necessary to avoid delays, and keep clear of those errors which had done so much prejudice to Nicias : for Nicias, at his first appearance, struck a universal consternation ; and yet, by declining the immediate attack of Syracuse, and loitering a whole winter away at Catana, he became an object of contempt, and Gylippus had time to land a succour from Peloponnesus, which disconcerted all his measures. That succour, however, the Syracusans could never have sent for, had Nicias assaulted them on his first approach ; for, deluding themselves with the thought that they were a match for their foes, they would have found, by sad experience, that they had indulged a cruel mistake, and must the same moment have been invested on all sides : and, in such a state, though they had invited those succours, yet no effectual relief could have been obtained from them.

Demosthenes, therefore, reflecting on these past mistakes, and sensible that he himself, this very moment, on the first day of his arrival, appeared most terrible in the eyes of the enemy, resolved without loss of time to improve the present consternation which his re-enforcement had struck among

them. He farther took notice, that the counter-work of the Syracusans, by which the Athenians had been excluded from perfecting their circumvallation, consisted only of a single wall ; and, in case the heights of Epipolæ could again be regained, with the camp which at first had been occupied there, that work might easily be carried, since the defendants could not now be able to withstand the Athenian strength ; he determined therefore to put this project in execution ; judging that, in case it succeeded, it would be a means of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion : for, if the scheme took place, the surrender of Syracuse must soon follow ; at worst, he would draw off the army, and not waste the lives of those Athenians who were employed in this service, and the strength of the whole state, to no manner of purpose.

Now, therefore, the Athenians began to act offensively ; and, in the first place, sallying out from their camp, they ravaged the country along the banks of the Anapus, and were now again, as on the first approach, masters without control both by land and sea ; for in neither element durst the Syracusans any longer come out to check their motions, abating what small resistance was made by the cavalry and darters from Olympiæum.

In the next place, Demosthenes thought proper to try what could be done against the works of the enemy by the help of machines. But when, upon applying them, those machines were fired by the Syracusans, who from the top of their works made a gallant defence ; and, though the army attacked in several quarters at once, they were everywhere repulsed ; he determined to waste no longer time upon the trial : but, having prevailed with Nicias and his other colleagues in command to assent to the scheme he had formed to recover Epipolæ, he proceeded to put it in execution. Yet, by daylight, it was judged impossible for them either to march or to mount the ascent without being discovered. Upon this, having issued out his orders, that every man should take with him subsistence for five days, and that all masons and carpenters should attend the march, with proper store of missive weapons, and all needful materials for raising new works in case the attempt was successful, he put himself, about the first sleep, at the head of the whole army, and, assisted by Eurymedon and Menander, marched towards Epipolæ. But Nicias was left behind in the intrenchments.

When now they were advanced to the pass of Euryalus, by which the first army gained formerly the ascent, they were yet undiscovered by the Syracusan guards; and, mounting the heights, surprised the fort which was there manned by the Syracusans, and slaughtered some of the defendants. But the majority flying amain towards the camps, of which there were three among the advanced intrenchments of Epipolæ (one of Syracusans, a second of other Sicilians, and a third of the confederates), they spread the alarm, and also notified the enemy's approach to the six hundred Syracusans, who at first were selected for the guard of this quarter of Epipolæ. These sallied out instantly to stop their progress; and Demosthenes, with his Athenians, falling in with them, put them to flight, after they had made a gallant stand. Upon this success they immediately pushed forwards, that they might improve the present ardour of the soldiers to the immediate completion of those points for which they had made this bold attempt. Another party, which had been advancing all along without a check, surprised the counter-work of the Syracusans; of which, since abandoned by its defendants, they were throwing down the battlements.

But now the Syracusans and their confederates, and Gylippus with the body under his command, marched out of their intrenchments; yet, having been attacked in so daring a manner amid the darkness of the night, they had not recovered their surprise when they fell in with the Athenians; and thus, not able to stand the first shock, they were obliged to give way for a time; but, as the Athenians pushed forwards with great irregularity, as if the victory was quite their own; eager, farther, to make themselves masters of all the tract not yet cleared of the enemy, for fear lest, should they slacken in their ardour, the enemy might have time to rally in a body, the Boeotians first put a stop to their career; and, rushing boldly upon them, routed and put them to flight. By this turn the Athenians were thrown into so much disorder and confusion, that the particulars which followed cannot easily be gathered, neither from themselves nor their antagonists; for, even in daylight, when objects are clearest to the sight, men present in a battle are not able to see all that passes; each single combatant can barely relate what happened about his own person. When, therefore, armies engage amid the darkness of the night (though this is the only instance of it

between powerful armies in the present war), how is it possible to come at the knowledge of the several incidents? The moon indeed shone at this time; but then they only saw one another as objects appear by moonlight, so as to discern the appearance of human bodies, but not to distinguish between friends and enemies. The heavy-armed, farther, numerous on both sides, were too much crowded for want of room. One party of the Athenians was already clearly defeated; another, unbroken by the first attack upon them, was pushing forwards. Of the remainder of their army, a great part had already mounted the ascent; yet some were still busied in mounting up; but none of these, when they were got upon the eminence, knew which way to advance; for before them (as the rout was begun) there was one grand medley of confusion, and the tumult was so loud that no sounds could be distinctly heard. The Syracusans and their confederates were animating one another with loud exultations (for the season of the night made all signals useless) to complete the blow, and were clearing before them all that came in their way: but the Athenians were prying about for one another, and regarded every thing they met, even though they fell in with their own friends, as the flight was now begun, for an assured enemy. Obligated, farther, by frequent iterations to demand the word, as the only method to distinguish one another (all calling out aloud for it at the same instant of time), they heightened the general distraction, and clearly discovered their own word to the enemy. But then they had not equal opportunities to discover that of the enemy; because, as the latter were now the victors, and kept more in bodies, it was less liable to detection. Hence it came to pass, that, though a stronger party of the Athenians fell in with a weaker party of their foes, yet they judged it best to fly; because they were sensible that their own word was divulged; and, as they could not return the word of the Syracusans, they must unavoidably be cut to pieces. But what had the greatest effect, and did most hurt to the Athenians, was the singing the *pæan*; since that used on both sides, being nearly the same, raised the utmost confusion: and, when the Argives and Coryreans, and all others of Doric descent, who were with the Athenians, began from time to time their *pæan*, it struck the same alarm into the Athenians as when the enemy themselves sang it; so that, in short, falling in among

one another in different quarters of the army, when once the confusion had risen to a height (friends against friends, and citizens against fellow-citizens), they not only impressed a reciprocal terror, but proceeded to blows with so much fury that they could not easily be parted. The pursuit was briskly followed; in which many of them, plunging headlong down the precipices, were dashed in pieces, because the pass downwards from Epipolæ was too narrow for their numbers. But of those who from the heights got down into the plain, many, and all in general who came in the first armament, since better experienced in the country, escaped in safety to the camp; whereas, of the last comers, some, straggling into by-ways, were bewildered in a country to which they were utter strangers, and at break of day were cut to pieces by the Syracusan horse, who scoured the plains.

On the day following the Syracusans erected two trophies on Epipolæ; one on the summit of the pass, and the other where the Bœotians first stopped the enemy's progress. The Athenians also obtained a truce, to fetch off their dead; the number of which was large,* both in their own troops and those of their allies; and yet more arms were taken by the enemy than bore proportion to the slain: for, of the number of light-armed who were pushed to the brink of the precipices, and, throwing away their shields, were obliged to leap down, though some perished by the fall, yet others escaped with life.

But, after this, the Syracusans, highly animated again with this fresh unexpected turn in their favour, sent out Sicanus, at the head of fifteen sail, to Agrigentum, now embroiled in a sedition, with orders to exert the utmost of his power to reduce it to their obedience. Gylippus also made once more the tour of Sicily, to levy another army; confident that, with such a re-enforcement, he could carry the very intrenchments of the enemy by storm, since affairs had taken such a favourable turn on Epipolæ.

In the meantime the Athenian generals were employed in the needful consultations since the last misfortune and the present universal dejection of their troops. They saw that all their attempts were blasted by ill success, and that the soldiers were chagrined at the continuance of so fruitless a

* Plutarch puts it at two thousand; but Diodorus Siculus says it was two thousand five hundred.

service : for a sickness spread among their people from a double cause ; from the present season of the year, in which the human body is most subject to disorders, and the marshy unwholesome ground on which they were encamped ; besides that, in every respect, their situation appeared desperate and quite beyond the power of redress.

The opinion of Demosthenes was therefore totally repugnant to a longer continuance before Syracuse. He urged " the immediate execution of the scheme he had formed before he made the late dangerous attempt upon Epipolæ ; which, since it had miscarried, they should no longer protract their departure, while yet the season of the year was proper for their voyage homeward, and they had strength enough in the last re-enforcement to force their passage in spite of the enemy." He affirmed, " It would be more conducive to the public welfare to turn their arms against those who were erecting fortifications within Attica itself, than against the Syracusans, whose reduction now was almost impracticable ; and that it was madness to persist any longer in a siege which dissipated the wealth of the state in fruitless vain expenses." In this manner Demosthenes declared his sentiments.

As for Nicias, though convinced within himself that their affairs were in a bad situation, yet he was unwilling with his own mouth to confess their low condition, or that a departure should be fixed by the general votes of a public council, where all that passed must be reported to the enemy ; because, should the determination be formed in this manner, the execution could not go forward without the enemy's privity. Besides, as he knew the state of the enemy somewhat more perfectly than others, he imagined there were grounds to hope that the state of the latter would soon become worse than their own, would they only continue to press the siege. A want of supplies must soon reduce them to great straits ; and this the sooner, as, by the accession of the last squadron, themselves were now again masters of the sea : and, what is more, in Syracuse itself there was a party which wished to see the city fall into their hands. These had despatched their agents to Nicias, and insisted he should not quit the siege. Yet, thus enlightened as he was, in reality he knew not how to act, as his mind was balanced between two measures, which equally required mature deliberation : but, for the present, he openly declared himself in council against

drawing off the army. He told them, "he was perfectly well assured that the Athenians would never forgive him, should he carry their troops from Sicily without peremptory orders; that the affair would not then lie under the cognizance of such as here advised it, and with their own eyes were convinced of the necessity of such a step; but of men who would form their judgments upon the spiteful calumniations of others, and the influence some malicious demagogues would have over their understandings, by which their fate would be determined." He farther represented, that "many, nay, the greater part of the soldiers, who now formed the troops, and make such tragical outcries about the perils that environ them at present, would change their notes so soon as they were landed at Athens, and ascribe their return to the treachery and corruption of their commanders." For such reasons, he declared, "as he was well acquainted with Athenian tempers, he would choose, rather than be undone at Athens by base criminations and an unjust sentence, to hazard the last extremity, and perish, if so it must be, under the violence of the enemy." He maintained, however, that "the state of the Syracusans was worse than their own. The demand upon them for the pay of foreigners was large; their expenses in securing the outworks of Syracuse were high; they had now supported a large navy for the space of an entire year; want therefore must soon come upon them, and they must shortly be totally distressed; because the sum of two thousand talents* they had already expended of their own stock, and had even contracted a large debt besides: and, in case they abate of their present punctuality, or making good the appointments of the forces they have on foot, their strength must moulder away; since it consisted, not like the Athenians, of troops which must serve, but of such as were only discretionary aids." He concluded with "the necessity they lay under, from the ties of duty, to continue the siege with vigour, and by no means expose a superior strength to ruin, through a false presumption that they were inferior in point of supplies."

Nicias expressed himself on this occasion with an air of neat confidence, as a person perfectly well acquainted with the state of Syracuse and the failure of money there, and because there

* 387,500*l.* sterling.

was a party within the city which acted in favour of the Athenians, and had advised him, by their agents, "by no means to raise the siege." And, what is more, he placed a stronger dependance now upon the fleet than ever he had done before the late unsuccessful engagement.

As to the proposal of continuing the siege, Demosthenes would not yield the least degree of attention to it: "If the army must not evacuate Sicily without a peremptory order from Athens, but must persist in this destructive service, he judged it would be better to draw them off to Thapsus or to Catana, where they might find opportunity enough to make incursions with the land-army upon the territories of the enemy, and, by committing devastations, might highly distress them. Their fleet might then engage in the open sea; not in a space confined and straitened, which was the greatest advantage to the enemy, but in sufficient sea-room, where all their superior skill might fairly be exerted, where they would be able to make their tacks, and bear down again upon the foe with greater agility, and more violent shocks, than could be done in the liminary space of a close pent-up harbour. Upon the whole, he affirmed, that his consent should never be given to a longer continuance in their present posts; but he was for moving off with all possible expedition, and they had not a moment to lavish upon delay."

Eurymedon then declared that his sense of things coincided with that of Demosthenes; and, Nicias persisting in the contrary opinion, a fit of languor and suspense ensued, attended with the secret imagination that the positiveness of Nicias resulted from some stronger hopes of success he had conceived above his colleagues. And in this manner the Athenians fell into dilatory measures, and continued in their camp before Syracuse.

But in this interval Gylippus and Sicanus returned to Syracuse: Sicanus truly disappointed of Agrigentum, for he was advanced no farther than Gela when the sedition in favour of the Syracusans was brought to an amicable period; but when Gylippus was returned at the head of a numerous body, consisting of levies made in Sicily, and the heavy-armed troops from Peloponnesus, who in the spring had put to sea on board the transport, but came over last from Africa to Selinus; for into Africa they had been driven by contrary winds; and, having there been furnished by the Cyreneans with two tri-

remes and a set of pilots, as they coasted along the African shore, they relieved the Evesperitæ, then blocked up by the Libyans. The latter they defeated in a set battle; and, proceeding from thence along the shore, they reached Neapolis, a Carthaginian mart, from whence lies the shortest cut to Sicily, being only a passage of two days and a night. Hence therefore they stood across, and landed at Selinus.

With this accession of strength, the Syracusans instantly prepared to attack the Athenians again both by land and sea. But the Athenian generals, finding they had received so large an augmentation, and that the posture of their own affairs was so far from being changed for the better, that day after day it grew worse in every respect; and, what was worst of all, that their troops were quite exhausted with fatigue and sickness, they repented now in earnest that they had not drawn off in time; and, as Nicias now no longer opposed that step with the same vehemence as he had done before, but merely endeavoured that it should not be determined in public council, they issued out orders, with the utmost secrecy, that the whole armament should hold themselves in readiness to put to sea upon a signal given; but, all things now ready, the very moment they are going to embark the moon is eclipsed; for it was now the time of the full. The bulk of the army, struck with the awful appearance, call out upon the generals to halt; and Nicias, always addicted too much to superstition and such vulgar scruples positively declared that "it should no more be debated whether they should remove or not, till the three times nine days were past which the soothsayers prescribe on such occasions." So, for this reason, a longer stay was forced upon the Athenians, who had been too dilatory already.*

* That the bulk of an army or a fleet should be frightened at such appearances, is no wonder at all: they are ever ignorant; and the most daring of them in other respects have been much addicted to superstition. But one cannot help being surprised at the ignorance and superstition of Nicias; one cannot help pitying and deploring the foible of a man who had so good a heart. Plutarch expatiates largely on this occasion. "Even the vulgar," says he, "at this time were well apprized that an eclipse of the sun was often occasioned, about the time of the change, by an interposition of the moon: but, as to the moon, by the interposition of what body, and how on a sudden, at the

The Syracusans, who had soon an intelligence of their designs, were now more animated than ever to press briskly on the Athenians, as on men who had given proof of their own inward conviction that they were no longer a match for their foes either by sea or on land ; since with other thoughts they never could have projected a re-embarkation. Apprehensive, at the same time, that, should they remove to any other quar-

full, its light fades away or emits variety of colour, was not easy for them to conceive. They thought it a strange occurrence, and sent from God as a prognostic of great calamities. The first person who wrote a clear and bold solution of the enlightening and obscuration of the moon, was Anaxagoras, who now had not been long dead ; nor was his account in everybody's hands, but concealed, imparted only to a few, and that with caution and assurances of secrecy. The world could not bear that naturalists and meteor-mongers, as they were then styled, should seem to restrain the divine power by quaint argumentations, invisible operations, and necessary consequences : for such attempts Protagoras was banished ; and Pericles, with much ado, procured the release of Anaxagoras when thrown into prison. Nay, Socrates, who never meddled with any of these points, was however put to death upon the charge of philosophizing. It was not till late that the glory of Plato shone abroad ; who, by his irreproachable life, and subjecting natural necessities to a divine and sovereign power, cleared away all bad imputations from studies of this kind, and, by a mathematical beginning, opened a field to other sciences. And thus his friend Dion, at what time he was setting sail from Zacynthus against Dionysius, was not at all disheartened by an eclipse of the moon, but landed safe at Syracuse, and ejected the tyrant. It was the misfortune of Nicias, at this juncture, not to have even a skilful soothsayer with him ; for his intimate, Stilbides, who had cured much of his superstition, had died a little before ; since this portent, as Philochorus says, was not a bad one, but an excellent good one, for a flying army ; since acts which are accompanied with fear stand in need of concealment, and light is ever an adversary to them. Besides, after eclipses of the sun or moon, it was the usual custom, as Autoclides has informed us, to hold only a three days' cessation from business. But Nicias persuaded himself that a complete revolution of the moon ought to be waited for ; as if with his own eyes he had not seen her shine bright again, when she had passed the shadow and the earth's interposition. Yet, throwing up all attention to other points, he minded nothing but sacrificing, till his enemies attacked him "

—*Life of Nicias.*

ter of Sicily, they would become more difficult of reduction, they saw the necessity of engaging them by sea without a moment's loss, while yet they had an advantage in compelling them to fight. Upon this they ordered the complements of men on board their ships, and exercised their crews as many days as were judged sufficient: but, when opportunity offered of acting with advantage, on the first day they assaulted the Athenian intrenchments; and a party of heavy-armed and horsemen, though not numerous, sallying out at some of the ports to beat them off, they cut off some of the heavy-armed from the rest of that party, and, having put them to flight, followed the pursuit. As the spot, farther, on which the assault was made, was narrow, the Athenians lost seventy horses, and a small number of their heavy-armed. Nothing more happened on this day, as the army of the Syracusans now made their retreat.

But, on the day following, they stood out with their fleet,* to the number of seventy-six ships; and, at the same time, the land-army marched up to the intrenchments. The Athenians launched out, with fourscore and six, to give them a reception; and thus charging one another, an engagement ensued. Eurymedon commanded the right wing of the Athenian fleet, and endeavoured to overreach and surround the ships of the enemy. For this purpose he opened his line, and stood along too close to the land; which gave the Syracusans and their allies, who had now defeated the centre of the Athenians, an opportunity to intercept him in the bottom and recess of the harbour, where they slew Eurymedon himself, and destroyed the ships which had separated in his company; and, this done, they gave chase to the whole Athenian fleet, and drove them ashore.

Gylippus now, perceiving that the ships of the enemy were defeated and driven aground quite wide of the piles and their

* Plutarch adds, that, "on this occasion, the very lads came out in fishing-boats and skiffs, taunting and insulting the Athenians. One of these lads, Heraclides, of a noble family, who had advanced too near, was in great danger of being intercepted by an Athenian vessel. But Pollichus, the uncle of the lad, alarmed for his safety, charged instantly with the ten triremes he had under his command. The rest of the Syracusan fleet, now alarmed for Pollichus, ran in at once, and brought on a general engagement."—*Life of Nicias*.

camp, formed instantly a design to make slaughter of the men as they were leaping on shore, and of giving the Syracusans an opportunity easily to draw off all the ships from land, of which they were entire masters. At the head, therefore, of one division of the land-force, he marched down to the pier to second the fleet. The Tyrrhenes happened to have been posted nearest by the Athenians; who, seeing a body of the enemy running down thither in a disorderly manner, advanced eagerly to meet them; and charging briskly on the van, put them to flight, and drove them into the Lake of Lysimelia: but, soon after, a re-enforcement of Syracusans and their allies coming up, the Athenians also advanced with speed to succour their friends; and, trembling for their ships, soon came to an engagement with them, and after routing, pursued them again. They slaughtered now a great number of the heavy-armed; and, what was more, preserved the far greater part of their fleet, and towed again to their former moorings all their ships, except eighteen, which the Syracusans and their allies made prizes, and put all the men on board them to the sword. With a view, farther, to destroy the rest by setting them on fire, they filled an old transport-ship with fascines and combustible matter, and, as the wind blew right upon the Athenians, set her on fire, and let her drive in among them. The Athenians, trembling for the ships, put all their engines instantly at work to extinguish the flames; which, having at length effectuated, and kept this fire-ship clear of their own vessels, they were delivered from this imminent danger.

After this the Syracusans erected a trophy for their victorious engagement on the water, and for the interception of the party of the heavy-armed before the intrenchments, where they had taken so many horses. The Athenians also did the same, for the repulse given by the Tyrrhenes to the land-forces of the enemy, and their being chased into the lake, and the larger success they afterward obtained with the rest of their army.

But now, when, beyond the reach of doubt, the Syracusans, though at first alarmed at the large re-enforcement of shipping brought against them by Demosthenes, had gained a signal victory by sea, the Athenians were plunged into a total dejection of spirit: they were thunderstruck by the reverse of misfortunes so little expected; and began to repent,

with much more bitterness of thought, that they had ever engaged in so fatal an expedition. They had invaded states whose policy was already of a piece with their own ; whose form of government was popular, like that of Athens ; and which flourished in shipping, in horses, and each article of power : and yet, finding themselves unable to give any measure of success to their projects by introducing dissensions among them through political embroilments, nor even by a powerful force, superior to that of their foes, able to ward off the many blows they had received, they had fallen beforehand into great anxieties ; and now, sadly beaten as they were at sea, one thought of which they never could hitherto have conceived, their despondency became more violent than ever.

From this time the Syracusans scoured the whole harbour without having any thing to fear. They had also formed a scheme of barring up its mouth ; that the Athenians, though never so intent upon it, might for the future not have it in their power to steal away. Their care and diligence were no longer employed on the view alone of their own preservation, but on the larger view of ruining the Athenians. They concluded, and justly too, that the latter turns in their favour had given them the ascendant over these invaders ; and, could they but compass the total overthrow of this body of Athenians and their allies, the grand achievement would strike all Greece with admiration. Nay, more, all other Grecians must reap the fruits of such success ; of whom some would in an instant recover freedom, and others be delivered from the fear of losing it ; for the remaining strength of Athens would never be able to stand against that weight of war with which she must be soon encompassed about. And thus, could they (Syracusans) be the glorious authors of such desirable events, they must infallibly become objects of wonder, not only to all the present age, but to latest posterity. And of a truth, considered in such a light, it was great and glorious ambition to aim at the conquest, not only of the Athenians, but also of their whole extensive and combined alliance ; and this, not merely to earn laurels for themselves, but for the auxiliaries also who had engaged in their cause ; since, exposed in the front of the war with the Lacedæmonians and Corinthians, they had subjected their own state to the fury of a storm which threatened them all, and, by their own personal valour in naval engagements, had contributed most to such a height of success.

The various people now got together at this one city of Syracuse were so very numerous, as to be exceeded only by the comprehensive roll of those who, in the series of the present war, sided either with the states of Athens or Sparta. The catalogue is subjoined of those who mustered in the offensive and defensive armies at Syracuse ; who fought against or in behalf of Sicily ; who joined for the reduction or preservation of this island, not so much from just and lawful motives, or a concurrence resulting from the ties of blood, as from policy, or interest, or direct compulsion.

The Athenians, truly, in quality of Ionians, had voluntarily come hither against the Syracusans, who were Dorians ; attended by those who spoke the same dialect and used the same institutions with themselves, the Lemnians, and Imbrians, and those *Æginetæ* who were the present possessors of *Ægina*. The *Hestians*, farther, now inhabiting *Hestia* in *Eubœa*, as an Athenian colony, had joined in the expedition. Of the remaining numbers, some came along with them because they were dependants : some, though independent, because they were confederates : and some there were who attended merely for their pay. The dependants and tributaries were the *Eretrians*, and *Chalcideans*, and *Styrensiens*, and *Carysthians*, from *Eubœa* ; from the islands, the *Ceans*, and *Andrians*, and *Teians* ; from *Ionia*, the *Milesians*, and *Samiæans*, and *Chians* ; of these the *Chians*, being not subjected to a tribute, but only to furnish a quota of shipping, though independent at home, yet followed their arms. And all these hitherto recited were Ionians and Athenian colonies, excepting the *Carysthians*, for these last are *Dryopes* ; but, as subjected to Athens, not so much from choice as Ionians as by mere compulsion, they now followed their masters against Dorians. To these were added *Æolians* ; the *Methymneans*, for instance, who were to furnish shipping, but were exempted from tribute ; the *Tenedians*, farther, and *Ænians*, who were tributaries ; but these, being *Æolians*, were now compelled to fight against other *Æolians* ; namely, their own founders, the *Bœotians*, who adhered to the *Syracusans*. The *Platæans* did the same, and were the only *Bœotians* that acted against *Bœotians* upon the justifiable pretext of lasting enmity. The *Rhodians*, farther, and *Cytherians*, attended, though both of Doric descent : the *Cytherians*, truly, who are a *Lacedæmonian* colony, bore arms at this juncture on the

Athenian side, against the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Gylippus ; and the Rhodians, Argives by descent, were obliged to turn their arms against the Doric Syracusans ; nay, against the Geleans, a colony of their own, now acting in concert with the Syracusans. Of the people of the isles on the coast of Peloponnesus came the Cephallenians and Zacynthians ; independent, in fact, but through their situation controlled in some measure by the Athenians, who are masters of the sea. The Corcyreans, farther, who were not only of Doric, but, what is more, were even of Corinthian original, as being a colony of the latter, and by blood allied to the former, from compulsion, as they gave out for a colour, though in truth from deliberate malice, since opposing the Corinthians, whom they hated, followed the Athenians with an ardour inferior to none. The Messenians also, now styled Messenians of Naupactus, and those from Pylus, which was still held by the Athenians, were brought along to the war ; to whom must be added a small party of Megarean exiles, who by a sad reverse of fortune now took part against the Selimuntians, who were also Megarean. The residue of the confederates were engaged rather upon free and spontaneous choice. The Argives, for instance, not more from obligations of subsisting treaties than the rancour they bore the Lacedæmonians, and the gratification of private spleen, though Doric, yet followed the Ionic Athenians against their Doric kindred. But the Mantineans and the rest of the Arcadians, who were mercenaries, and eternally habituated to act against any foe pointed out to them, were now so far influenced by gain as to regard those Arcadians as their enemies who came over on this occasion in company with the Corinthians. The Cretans also and Ætolians were there, allured by an advantageous pay ; and thus it happened that the Cretans, who, in concert with the Rhodians, had founded Gela, readily took part for the sake of gain, not with, but against, a colony which themselves had planted. There was also a body of Acarnanian auxiliaries, partly induced to join by the pay they received, but principally by their personal regard for Demosthenes and their attachment to the Athenians. And thus have we run them over to the utmost boundary of the Ionian Gulf. Of the Italic nations, the Thurians, and those Metapontians whom intestine feuds had reduced to the necessity of fighting for subsistence, joined their arms ; and, of the Sicilian, the

Naxians and Cataneans; of barbarian, the Ægesteans, who were the first movers of this grand contention, and the major part of the Siculi; and, out of Sicily, some of the Tyrrhenes, from enmity to the Syracusans, and the mercenary Japygians. So many nations were assembled together at present under the command of the Athenians.

The auxiliaries, on the side of the Syracusans, were the Camarineans, who bordered close upon them, and the Geleans, who were situated next the Camarineans. To proceed regularly: as the Agrigentines were neutral, the Selinuntians next occur, who are seated beyond the Agrigentines, since they inhabit that tract of the island which faces Africa. Then the Himereans, the only Grecian people who inhabit that part of the island which lies off the Tyrrhene Sea, and were the only body which came from thence to the aid of Syracuse. The several nations of Greek descent settled in Sicily, being all Doric, and independent, acted together in concert. Of the barbarous people they had those Siculi alone who did not openly revolt to the Athenians; but, out of Sicily, the Lacedæmonians sent them a citizen of Sparta to command, and a body of Neodamades and Helots. By a Neodamas is meant a citizen newly enfranchised. The Corinthians alone aided them both with shipping and a land-force, in conjunction with the Leucadians and Ambraciots, by blood allied to Syracuse. From Arcadia also came a body of mercenaries, sent by the Corinthians; and the Sicyonians, who acted on compulsion; and of those who dwell without the Peloponnesus were the Bœotians. But, besides these foreign aids, the Sicilians, as possessed of great and powerful cities, furnished out in all respects a much greater and well-appointed force; for by them a numerous body of heavy-armed, of ships, and horses, and other kinds of military force, in an amazing abundance, were raised and brought to Syracuse. And yet it must be said, that the domestic force of the Syracusans was more to be considered than all the rest, from the greatness of their state and the immediate urgency of those perils with which they were environed.

These were the aids, the numerous aids, assembled together by the contending parties; and at this juncture all these were present on each side of the contest; and from this crisis neither party received any accession.

The Syracusans therefore and their confederates thought,

since the signal victory they had gained upon the water, it would be a brave exploit, and highly for their glory, to make the whole extensive camp of the Athenians their prize, and cut off their retreat on both elements, both by land and sea. With this project they immediately barred up the great harbour, the mouth of which is about eight stadia* over, with a line of triremes placed side by side, and other vessels and boats moored fast together by anchors; and got every thing besides in readiness, in case the Athenians should venture on another engagement. Their every view was now become large and aspiring.

When the Athenians saw the harbour thus barred up, and perceived, farther, the whole of the enemy's designs, it was judged high time to go to consultation. The commanders of the different bodies were called to council, with the generals; in which, upon representations made "of the great distress to which they were reduced, and that they had not a stock of provisions ample enough for their immediate subsistence (for, bent on sailing away, they had sent already to Catana to countermand any fresh convoys), and, unless they could recover their mastery at sea, it would be impracticable for the future to obtain a supply," they came to a final resolution "to quit their intrenchments on the higher ground, and before the station of their shipping to raise a circular work, of as little compass as possible, but sufficient to serve for a magazine and hospital, and to this only to assign a guard; as for the rest of the land-army, they were to oblige every soldier to go on board, that all the ships which were yet undamaged, or had been laid up for want of hands, might be completely manned; and thus they must fight their passage out of the harbour; and, if it succeeded, make directly for Catana; but, if repulsed, they would burn their shipping, and, moving off in one body by land, would endeavour, by the most expeditious marches, to reach the nearest place that would receive them, whether Barbarian or Grecian."

Such was the plan resolved on, and which they began immediately to execute; for now, abandoning their upper intrenchments, they drew down to the beach, and manned the whole of their shipping, on board of which they forced, with out exception, all such as had youth and vigour enough to

* Near a mile.

be of service there. The whole number of ships they were by this means enabled to man amounted to a hundred and ten. They also placed on board the fleet a large number of archers, the darters of the Acarnanians, and other foreign auxiliaries ; and provided in all other respects for action, as well as their condition would permit, or the nature of the project required.

When things were thus in great forwardness, Nicias, taking notice that the soldiery were much dejected by the great defeats which, contrary to their wonted custom, they had received by sea, and yet desirous to hazard another engagement as soon as possible, because pinched for want of necessary subsistence, he gathered them all round about himself, and endeavoured to raise their drooping spirits by the following exhortation, the first of the kind he had ever made :—

“ My fellow-soldiers, whether of the Athenian or the confederate troops ! the bold attempt we are now going to make is of equal concern to each individual among us ; since, not more for victory over our foes than for the preservation of ourselves and our country, we are now to fight ; and, if our naval efforts be crowned with victory, each of us may again be blessed with the sight of his own native city. Away, therefore, with these faces of despair, this painful dejection, fit only for a raw unexperienced multitude, who, unsuccessful in their first attempts, for ever afterward bid adieu to hope, and by unmanly fear anticipate misfortunes !

“ As for you, Athenians, who form so considerable a part of this assembly, experienced as you are in such variety of warfare ! and you also, our allies, who have ever fought under our banners ! recall to your reflections the unexpected turns of war ; encourage the hope that fortune may at length declare for us, and determine once more to engage the foe with a spirit worthy of that numerous strength of which, by ocular demonstration, you see yourselves this moment possessed. Those points, of which we perceive we may avail ourselves against the narrowness of the harbour's mouth, against such a multitude of vessels as will be crowded together, and against that particular disposition of soldiers on their decks, from which, on the former occasion, we suffered so much ; all these, I must tell you, are as well adjusted as our present condition will permit, by the united care of us your generals and your own masters : for many archers and

arters shall now line your decks, and that crowd of soldiers, which, when we engage in the open sea, we never can use, because the vessels would be too heavily laden to allow the proper exertion of our skill ; that crowd, I say, in this pent-up contracted space, shall give to our naval battle the strength and stability of a land-engagement. We have also devised the proper means to compensate the inferior structure of our ships ; and, in return for the consolidated beaks of our enemy, have provided the ships with grappling-irons, which will hold fast a vessel that has run against you from getting clear, provided those on board will perform their duty ; because, as necessity enforces us now to fight a mere land-battle from our decks, it highly concerns us neither to be beaten off ourselves, nor to suffer them to get clear from our grapple ; especially when all the ambient shore, excepting the small tract now occupied by our own army, is hostile in regard to us. Mindful of these things, it behooves you to fight it out so long as strength and vigour shall enable you, and never yourselves to be driven on such a shore ; but, when once your ship has grappled with a foe, never once to think of losing your hold till you have cleared the enemy's decks of all the defendants. But these points I give in charge to the heavy-armed, not less than to the seamen ; since this method of engagement is more particularly your province, and since it still remains within your power to earn a glorious victory, by putting your land method into practice. But the seamen I exhort, and with my exhortations mingle my entreaties, not to shrink too much under the sensibility of past defeats, as your decks are now better armed in all respects than they were before, and as the number of the shipping is enlarged. Recall the idea of that heart-delighting privilege, of which you are now to secure the continuance :—to you I speak, who, though not of Athenian extraction, have hitherto been regarded and honoured as Athenians ; and, for speaking well our language, and appropriating our manner, have been admired through the whole extent of Greece, have participated the benefits of our largely-extended empire, not less than ourselves in point of profit, and much more than ourselves in striking awe into your vassals, and being exempted from the attacks of injustice. Since, therefore, you alone have freely shared our empire with us, you are bound by all the ties of honour by no means to desert its present vindication. Then, in open despite of those Corin-

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thians whom you have so often conquered, and of those Sicilians not one of whom durst look us in the face so long as the vigour of our fleet was unimpaired, drive your foes before you, and strike into them the plain conviction, that your military skill, though struggling with weakness and misfortunes, is yet far superior to all their strength and luck united.

“But, to the native citizens of Athens among you, I must once more suggest, that you have now no longer in your docks such another fleet as this, nor have left behind you such another body of heavy-armed. If, therefore, your immediate fate be any thing less than victory, your enemies will sail and be directly at Athens; and the remainder of our forces there will no longer be able to repulse the united assaults of their domestic foes and such foreign invaders. Nay, the infallible result must be, that you at once put on the chains of Syracusans, against whom you are conscious with what intentions you at first came here, while your country must be forced to submit to a Lacedæmonian bondage. Now, therefore, summon all your courage, to earn the day in which your own liberty and that of Athens is to be the victor's prize: and let each individual among you invigorate himself with the thought, nay, let it throw spirit and life into the whole army,—that those who are now to engage on board this present fleet are the whole of the land and naval force of your country; are the surviving support of the state and the great name of Athens. In so momentous a conflict, whoever among you excels in military skill or inward bravery, that person had never so fine an opportunity to give demonstration of his superior worth, or to perform a great service for himself, or for the welfare of his country.”

Nicias, after he had finished this earnest exhortation, ordered them to repair directly to their posts on board the fleet.

As all this hurry of preparation lay within their view, Gylippus and the Syracusans could not escape the conviction that the Athenians were bent on another engagement. They had, moreover, received intelligence of the new project of the grappling-irons. As, therefore, they had provided against every thing besides, they also made provision to counterwork that project. For this purpose they had covered the prows, and almost the whole gunwale of their ships, with hides; that, when the grappling-iron was thrown, it might slip off and catch no

hold. And no sooner were all their preparations completed, than the Syracusan generals, in concert with Gylippus, animated their men to engage with resolution, by the following harangue :—

“ That your past achievements have been glorious indeed, and for the acquisition of greater honour and glory that you are now on the brink of engaging, the generality of you, ye Syracusans and confederates, are well convinced, and need not at present to be informed ; for otherwise you could never have persisted so far in this warm career of bravery and success ; but, if there be a man among you whose sense of things drops short of their real position, we shall now throw upon it the needful illustration.

“ This land, our property, the Athenians have invaded : aiming, in the first place, at enslaving Sicily ; and, had this design succeeded, at inflicting an equal fate on Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece. And yet these very Athenians, who enjoy already the largest tract of empire that any ancient or modern state of Greece has at any time enjoyed, you are the first who have bravely resisted ; and of that navy, on which they erected their encroaching pile of power, are plainly the victors in several engagements ; as again, in that which now approaches, you will assuredly beat them. For men who have received such severe checks in a point for which they so highly plumed themselves, will for the future have a much worse opinion of their own merit than if they had never conceived so high a value of it ; and, when all their towering pretensions are so unexpectedly blasted, their subsequent efforts must of course drop short of their real strength : and this, you may rest assured, is the present state of yonder Athenians. And by parity, in regard to ourselves, that proportion of strength we enjoyed at first, with which, though far inferior in skill, we boldly and successfully presumed to withstand them, must now be suitably enlarged ; and, with the farther accession of this inward assurance, that we are really the best, since we have beaten the best seamen in the world, our hopes of success are in every light redoubled ; and then human experience teaches us that, in every competition, the warmest hope is ever accompanied with the greatest resolution.

“ But farther, those late alterations which they have introduced among their shipping, in order to equalise and balance ours, have been a long time familiar to our own practice ;

and each of their new preparations we shall dexterously improve to our own advantage : for when, contrary to the long and inveterate discipline of their fleet, there are crowded together upon their decks a numerous body of heavy-armed, as well as another numerous body of mere *terra firma* darters, as they may properly be styled ; when thus Acarnanians and other landmen are forced on board, who even sitting would be unable to poise and direct their weapons, how can they avoid endangering their vessels ? or, jumbled confusedly together, and tottering under motions to which they are not inured, how can they escape a total disorder ?

“ What still makes more against them, the multitude of their shipping will only serve the more to embarrass them ; and let this dispel the fears of those who may be afraid of engaging against their superior numbers ; for a multitude of ships in a contracted space will be more slow in executing orders, and are at the same time most easily exposed to the annoyance which our preparations are contrived to give them. And now attend to the true and real situation of the foe, as from good intelligence we are enabled clearly to declare it to you.

“ Environed on all sides with misfortunes, and distressed in a present want of the necessaries of life, they are become quite desperate : and hence, though they have resigned all confidence in their real strength, yet in the fury of despair they are throwing themselves upon the decision of fortune ; that either, if the passage can be forced, they may launch out to sea ; or, that project failing, may attempt a retreat by land ; as if to a worse condition than their present it were not in the power of fortune to reduce them. Warmed, therefore, with brave resentments, let us also try the encounter against such wild confusion, and against the fortune of our inveterate foes, now treacherously bent to finish their destruction. Let us charge with the full conviction, that on an enemy who would justify their invasion on the principle of redressing wrongs, it is most fair and equitable to satiate all the fury of revenge ; nay, more, that vengeance on a foe is an appetite of nature, and commonly said to be the sweetest of all human enjoyments. But that those men yonder are our foes, our most bitter, unrelenting foes, you need no farther proofs ; since, bent on enslaving this our country, they first made the voyage ; and, had this their odious project been successful,

on our citizens they had inflicted the most cruel torments, on our wives and children the most indecent enormities, and on Syracuse the most ignominious appellation. In a work of so just retaliation, to indulge a tenderness of mind, or to think it gain to let them depart without additional revenge, will be a matter of just reproach; for the latter is all they will be able to effect, even though at length they may be victors. But to us, could we execute the fair and equitable wishes of our hearts, by inflicting upon them the punishment they well deserve, and in setting the liberty of all Sicily, as it has been ever enjoyed by us, beyond the reach of any future insults, how glorious must such achievements be! for such critical moments of adventure are most rarely to be met with; which, if unsuccessful, can do the least disservice; but, if successful, draw after them the most valuable acquisitions."

When the Syracusan generals, seconded by Gylippus, had finished this their exhortation to their own soldiers, they also, in their turn, repaired immediately on board their fleet, as they found was already done by the Athenians.

But Nicias, whose mind was surcharged with present cares, sensible how extreme the danger, and how nearly approaching, since this very moment they were only not in motion; and once more reflecting, that, as generally happens in affairs of such prodigious moment, some points might yet be left imperfect, something of energy, and weight, and influence be yet left unsaid; he called out again upon every single captain of the fleet, addressing himself separately to them, with the honourable mention of their fathers, themselves, and their tribe; and conjuring each, by his own distinguishing splendour, whatever it was, "not now to betray it, nor tarnish those hereditary virtues on which their ancestors had founded their glory;" reminding them earnestly of the uninterrupted freedom of their country, and the privilege they had ever enjoyed of living in it quite free and uncontrolled; asserting other arguments, such as, with men who had their all so much at stake, might have influence and weight; no matter now how trite or hackneyed by frequent repetitions, or how equally applicable to every case, as fetched from the endearments of their wives, and their offspring, and their paternal gods; such as from every topic, in a plunge of horror and distress, are rung in the ears of men, as likely to animate and persuade. And thus at last, though fearful that not even yet he had said

enough, but all that the time would permit, he parted from them ; and placing himself at the head of the land-army, marched down to the beach ; where he drew them up in as large a line as they could possibly form, that their appearance might have the greater effect in imboldening those on board the fleet.

And now Demosthenes, and Menander, and Euthydemus (for these went on board to command the fleet), getting clear from their moorings, stood away directly towards the barricade of the harbour, and that interval of its mouth not yet completely barred, in order to clear the passage. The Syracusans also and their allies had now launched forth against them with their usual number of ships. A detachment of these were so stationed as to guard the passage ; the rest were spread circularly quite round the harbour, that on all sides at once they might attack the Athenians, and their land-army on the beach might second them on approaches to the shore. The Syracusan fleet was commanded by Sicanus and Agatharchus, who were respectively stationed in each of the wings, while Pythen and the Corinthians composed the centre.

When the Athenians were come up to the barricade, they ran boldly at it ; and, by the violence of the first shock, they beat off the vessels ranged about it, and were intent on clearing away the whole barricade. But here, the Syracusans and allies falling in among them from every quarter, a general engagement ensued, not only at the barricade, but in every part of the harbour. Obstinate it really proved, and such a battle as they had never fought before. Great, in truth, was the ardour of the seamen on both sides, in running upon the enemy whenever the word was given ; and great was the art exerted by the officers, in attack, and defence, and reciprocal contention. The soldiers on board exerted all their efforts, that, when ship came close with ship, no stretch of military skill should be omitted on the hatches. Every individual, abiding firmly in his post, strained all his diligence to signalize his own behaviour. But, as numerous ships were falling in together among one another in little sea-room, and so large a number never fought before in so small a space (since the amount of both fleets fell little short of two hundred), the direct incursions with the beak were few, because room was wanting for tacks and passages ; but boardings were frequent, as the vessels were continually running foul of one another,

or, in sheering off, met others which were coming on; and, so long as a vessel was in her approach, those on the hatch-
es poured plentifully against her whole showers of javelins, and arrows, and stones; but, when they were once come to grappling, the soldiers, closing in firm battalion, endeavoured by force to board one another. Nay, it most frequently happened, through the straitness of sea-room, that the very moment one party boarded the enemy, the very same moment they were also boarded themselves, as two vessels lay often alongside of an enemy: nay, sometimes more, by necessity mingled and squeezed fast together. In the meantime, the care of the officers was not confined to one single point, but distracted on all sides by a whole round of perils: they were here intent on their own defence, and there on the annoyance of the enemy. And, farther, the prodigious crash that was made by such a number of ships, running at the same instant upon one another, struck such dismay and loss of hearing, that the voices of those who issued out orders could no longer be distinguished. Loud, besides, were the exhortations and shouts of the officers on both sides, partly in conformity to rule, though swelled at present by the ardour of contention. Among the Athenians it was shouted amain—"To force the passage, and now or never to exert their utmost stretch of bravery to earn a safe return to their native country:" among the Syracusans and their allies—"How glorious it would be to hinder their escape, and by present victory for every one among them to increase the growing honours of his country!" The commanders also, on both sides, if they saw a vessel dropping off before it was overpowered by the enemy, called out aloud by name on the captain, demanding, on the Athenian side, "Did they retire on the wild presumption that yonder most hostile shore would prove more friendly to them than the open sea, which by long prescription they had claimed as their own province?" But, on the Syracusan—"Would they, who were perfectly assured that the Athenians wanted nothing so much as to escape, would they fly first from those who were flying?" The land-army, farther, of each party upon the beach, while yet the battle was alternately fluctuating on the water, felt the utmost anxiety and the most painful conflict of mind; earnestly bent, as the one domestic party was, "on gaining accumulated honours;" but fearful, as the other invading party was be-

come, that "their condition might soon become worse than it was already:" for, the whole hope of the Athenians centering at present in that fleet, their anguish for the event was more acute than ever they had felt, and was aggravated by their own position on the beach, which gave them a clear, uninterrupted prospect of all that passed in the battle upon the water. The scene was but a trifling distance from their eyes; and, as the looks of all of them were not at the same instant fastened upon the same spectacle, if any saw their own party prevailing, they grew at once exalted, and immediately began an invocation to the gods, that the efforts of their friends might be crowned with success; while another party, beholding those who were vanquished, uttered a loud shriek which ended in a groan; and, by the sight of such affecting turns, were more subdued in spirit than those who were actually engaged in this medley of horror. Others, farther, who were intent upon a quarter of the engagement where the event was yet in suspense, and no judgment amid such confusion could be formed, adjusted the contortions of their bodies to their inward fears, and passed that interval in extremity of anguish; for each single moment they were within a little of escaping or being sunk. And thus, in one and the same army of Athenians, so long as the event was under decision, a whole medley of noises was heard together;—shrieking—shouting—victory!—undone!—undone!—and all other sounds of various import, which, in such extremity of danger, a numerous body of men may be forced to utter.

Those, farther, on board, were equally sensible of all the quick alternatives of passion; till at last, after the battle had for a long time been obstinately maintained, the Syracuseans and allies put the Athenians to open flight; and, plying briskly in the chase, with obstreperous clamour and loud exultations drove them upon the beach. And here, the land-soldiers who had served on board, excepting such as had been taken in the deeper water, leaping in all parts, as they severally could, on the shore, ran in great confusion for shelter to the camp. The army on the beach, with passions no longer diversified, but with one and the same uniform vehemence, having expressed their resentment of the horrible conclusion by a loud shriek and a hearty groan, some hurried along the beach to succour the shipping; others to defend what yet remained of their intrenchments; while a third party, and the

bulk of the army, confined their whole care to themselves, and were solely intent on their own personal preservation. The horrid consternation in which this moment they were universally plunged, was greater than Athenians had ever felt before. They suffered now what on a former occasion they had made others suffer at Pylus. There the Lacedæmonians, having first lost their fleet, had the farther mortification to see all their gallant Spartans in the island undone. And now the desperate condition of the Athenians offered no glimmering of safety on the land, unless some miraculous contingency should take place in their favour.

After an engagement so hardy and well disputed, after the sinking of a large number of ships and the death of numbers on both sides, the Syracusans and their allies, who were masters of the day, took up the shatters and the dead. This being done, they sailed in triumph to the city, and erected a trophy.

But the Athenians, quite sunk with the weight of their present misfortunes, never so much as once entertained the thought of recovering their shattered vessels or their dead, but were contriving how to decamp by favour of the approaching night. Demosthenes, upon this, repairing to Nicias, declared it as his own opinion, that, "manning at once the whole number of their vessels, they should exert their utmost efforts to force their passage out of the harbour early the next dawn;" affirming, that "they had still a larger number of shipping fit for service than the enemy:" for the Athenians had yet about sixty left, whereas those of the enemy were under fifty. Nicias came into the proposal; but, when both joined in issuing proper orders for the execution, the seamen flatly refused to go on board. Dispirited as they were by the last great blow, they had resigned all hope of ever beating these enemies again. No measure now remained but a retreat by land, on which the universal attention was henceforth employed.

Hermocrates, the Syracusan, had conceived a suspicion that such a step would be taken by them; and, foreseeing what difficulties might arise if so large an army should march across the country, and, posting themselves afresh on Sicilian ground, should again resume their spirits and renew the war against Syracuse, he waited upon those in authority, and suggested to them that "they ought not, by any rules of

policy, to let the enemy steal off by night (inserting here his own sentiments of the affair); but that all the Syracusans and their allies, sallying out in a body, should preoccupy and secure the roads, and in good time beset and put strong guards in all the passes." The magistrates were sensible, as much as he who gave this advice, how reasonable it was, and declared themselves for its execution: but then, "the men who now, indulging their joy for the late victory, were intent on recreations, and as, besides, it was a festival time (for this very day they were performing the anniversary sacrifice to Hercules), in all probability would refuse to march; because, transported as they were with success, the generality no doubt were celebrating the festival with good cheer and wine; and any thing might sooner be hoped from them than obedience to an order for taking up their arms and sallying forth at a minute's notice." As the magistrates were convinced that things would so turn out, the scheme was judged impracticable, and Hermocrates could in nowise prevail: but he thought of an artifice to play off against the foe; afraid lest the Athenians, dislodging quietly by night, might possess themselves of the most difficult passes before any opposition could reach them, he despatched some of his most trusty friends, under an escort of horse, to the Athenian camp so soon as it was dark; who, riding up so near to the intrenchments that their words might be distinctly heard, and calling out aloud on some persons to come forth, since they were a party sent from his friends in Syracuse to bring Nicias some intelligence, charged them to carry word immediately to Nicias, "by no means to draw off the army by night, because the Syracusans had beset the roads; but to defer his march till daylight, when he had leisure to make the proper dispositions:" and after delivering this message they rode off, while those who received it went and reported it faithfully to the Athenian generals.

Wrought upon by this piece of intelligence, in which they were far from suspecting any fraud, they continued all night in their posts; and then, as they had not dislodged at once in a hurry, they thought it advisable to stay there but one day longer, that the soldiers might pack up and carry away with them as large a part as was possible of their necessary stores. The rest of the baggage it was agreed should be abandoned to the enemy: they were only to carry off, each person

for himself, what was absolutely necessary for food and raiment.

But, in this interval, the Syracusans and Gylippus, by sallying out with the land-forces, had gained a march before them, had blocked up the roads along the country by which it was judged the Athenians would march, and had posted strong guards upon all the fords of brooks and rivers; nay, their detachments stood ready drawn up in battalia to beat off the enemy from the most convenient passes. Standing out farther into the harbour with their fleet, they dragged from the shore the Athenian shipping: some few of these they burnt, as the Athenians had designed to do; but the residue at their leisure, from the spot where each lay stranded, they took in tow and carried away to the city. And this being done, when Nicias and Demosthenes judged that they had completed such preparations for their march as were absolutely needful, the dislodgment of the whole army was put in execution on the third day from the naval engagement.

Terrible indeed it was, not only when viewed in one particular light, as that they retreated because they had lost the whole of their fleet, and all their mighty hopes had terminated in such personal danger to themselves, and such as even boded the ruin of Athens, but the very abandoning of the camp presented to their sight the most cutting spectacles, and struck each soul among them with heart-piercing anguish; for, as the dead lay uninterred upon the surface of the earth, when the remains of an old acquaintance, thus miserably laid out, arrested the eyes of a soldier, he was instantly seized with regret and horror. But the living, who on account of wounds and sickness were left behind, were causes of much greater affliction to the sound than were even the dead; and, in truth, were much more to be deplored than those who had no longer a being; for, bursting out into prayers and lamentations, they occasioned a wild irresolution of thought; earnestly entreating that they might not be left behind, and screaming out aloud on each by name, as they saw a friend, or an acquaintance, or an old comrade, moving off, throwing their arms about their necks, and so dragged along while they could keep their hold; but, when strength and bodily vigour failed and left them destitute of resource, they gave them the last adieu, not without a shower of curses and a hideous howl. By such cutting incidents the whole army was filled with

tears and a wild irresolution ; so that they could not depart without the highest regret, though from a spot so hostile, where they had suffered more than tears could alleviate ; and the dread of more, which yet might be impending, was inexpressible. Dejection of the head and self-accusation were general through all the troops ; and they resembled nothing less than a large subjugated city, whose numerous inhabitants were escaping from the fury of a sack ; for the amount of those who were now marching off together was not less than forty thousand men.

Of these, the generality carried off merely what necessary subsistence they had scraped together ; but the heavy-armed and horsemen, contrary to custom, were now obliged to carry their own sustenance themselves beneath their armour ; some, because they had none ; others, because they durst not trust their servants. The desertions had for a long time been large, but of late in greater numbers than ever. Neither were they thus provided with sufficient stores ; for there was no longer any corn to be found in the camp. Nay, truly, the general calamity and equability of misfortunes, which in many cases alleviate the pain, as numbers are involved, were unable to render the present evils in any degree supportable ; especially when the thought occurred, from what a height of splendour and preceding glory, to what a plunge and miserable state they were now reduced ! for a most cruel turn of fortune this really proved to a Grecian army ; who, coming hither to enslave others, were departing now with the sad alternative of fearing to be made slaves themselves ; and, instead of the prayers and pæans with which they first began the voyage, were now dislodging with omens that portended nothing but misery : those, farther, who came hither as lords of the ocean, were now stealing away by land, from henceforth to be saved, not by naval skill, but the perseverance of a land-army. However, all these reflections put their patience nothing on the stretch, in comparison of that weight of misery which this very instant was hovering over their heads.

Nicias, perceiving the whole army to be overwhelmed in despair, and sunk in this plunge of distress, addressed himself severally to the troops, exhorted, and comforted, by every topic which occurred, each single party, whom he visited by turns, elevating his voice far beyond the ordinary pitch, to suit the earnestness of his heart, in hope that, the louder he

spoke, the more extensive effect it might have upon the hearers.

“ Even yet, and in the present low ebb of our fortune, my dear countrymen and confederates, we ought to encourage hope. Instances may be given of armies who have been rescued from a deeper plunge of dangers than that which is now our portion. Nor ought you to torture yourselves with too painful regret at what you suffer, or at the unmerited miseries which this moment environ you about. Even I myself, who have much less room to boast of a constitution superior to hardships than the meanest soldier in your ranks (for your own eyes can witness to how low a state my bodily infirmities have reduced me), who, however, in the continued happiness of my former course of life, or in any other regard, am inferior to none among you, yet am buffeted now, by the storms and outrages of fortune, as cruelly as ever were the vilest and most abject of my fellow-creatures. It is true, I have ever habitually worshipped the gods, with a conscientious deference to established laws : and have made justice and beneficence to man the constant practice of my life. Upon the strength of this, when I look forward to the future, my mind is enlivened with invigorating hope : though I own these misfortunes, so far undeserved, strike no little terror on my thoughts. But better times, perhaps, may be approaching ; for sure our enemies have been blessed with an ample measure of success ; and, though some deity may have frowned at first on this our expedition, yet by this time his wrath must be fully wreaked upon us. We are not the first instance of a people who have wantonly invaded the possessions of another ; many such offences have taken their rise from the impulse of human passions, and have been punished with such a measure of vengeance as human nature was able to endure. Good reason, therefore, have we now to hope for a milder fate from the offended deity ; who, depressed as we are, seem objects of compassion more than of resentment. Cast, therefore, your eyes on the fine bodies of heavy-armed, and the goodly numbers which even now compose your retreat, and let the sight revive and cheer your drooping spirits. Conclude that, wherever you choose to halt, you are of yourselves that instant a mighty community ; such as no other Sicilian people can presume to stand before, should you attack ; nor to dispossess, wherever you think proper to settle.

But, that your march be orderly and safe, be that the care of each individual among your ranks, made warm and earnest by the thought that, on whatever spot you may be compelled to fight, on that, if crowned with victory, you regain a country and a bulwark of your own. But then, our march must be continued both day and night, with unabating speed, because our stock of provision is but scanty; and, can we but reach some friendly territory belonging to the Siculi, who, from their excessive dread of the Syracusans, will ever preserve their attachment to us, conclude yourselves that moment to be beyond the reach of danger: send, therefore, your messengers beforehand to them, with orders to meet us on our route, and bring us the needful supplies of food. On the whole, my fellow-soldiers, rest assured that the last necessity enjoins you to be resolutely brave; since to cowardice now no place of shelter is any longer open; and only if you stem the efforts of your foes can you again be happy in the enjoyment of those scenes your eyes so fondly regret; and can Athenians re-erect the extensive power of the Athenian state, how low soever it may be fallen at present: for they are men who make a state, not walls nor ships by men abandoned."

With these words of encouragement Nicias ran regularly through all the ranks of the whole army; careful, at the same time, if he saw any parties straggling from the main body, and quitting the order of the march, to fetch them up and replace them. Demosthenes exerted himself as diligently in his own department, encouraging his troops with the same energy and ardour of address. The body under Nicias, drawn up in a square, led the van of the march; that under Demosthenes brought up the rear: while the baggage-men, and the numerous crowd that attended the camp, marched within the centre of the heavy-armed.

When they were advanced to the place of fording the Anapus, they found a body of Syracusans and allies drawn up in battalia there to oppose the passage: but, putting these to flight, they gained the passage of that river, and advanced into the country beyond; though their march was terribly harassed by the incursions of the Syracusan horse, and by the missive weapons which the light-armed of the enemy poured in from time to time among them: and yet, in this

day's march, the Athenians advanced about forty stadia,* and halted for the night upon an eminence.

On the ensuing day, by early dawn, they were again in motion, and advanced about twenty stadia;† when, descending into a certain plain, they halted and formed an encampment. Their design in this was to fetch in some provisions, for the adjacent country was inhabited, and to get a proper supply of water to carry along with them; for in the country beyond, through which their route was fixed, no springs were to be met with for the length of several stadia. But, during this halt, the Syracusans, advancing beyond them, threw up a work across their route to stop their farther progress. The spot chosen for this was a strong eminence, flanked on both sides by an inaccessible crag, and known by the name of Acræum-Lepas.

On the day following the Athenians resumed their march; but the horse and numerous darters of the Syracusans and allies stopped their advance, the latter pouring in their weapons upon, and the former riding up and disordering their ranks. For a long time, it is true, the Athenians maintained the skirmishes against them; but at length they retreated again to their last encampment. And now all farther supplies of provisions were totally cut off; it being no longer possible to fetch in any, for fear of the horse.

But, decamping early in the morning, they continued their march, and forced their progress to the eminence which was fortified by the new work. Here they found the Syracusan infantry drawn up before them in firm and deep battalia, posted also on the strong eminence they had occupied on purpose; for the pass was very narrow. The Athenians marched up and assaulted the work; but, being pelted by showers of darts from the eminence, which was very steep, and so gave those upon it a great advantage in throwing their weapons home, and finding themselves unable to force it, they again drew off, and attempted it no farther. It happened, at the same time, that some claps of thunder were heard, accompanied with rain, effects not unusual in this season, as the year was now in autumn; and yet these accidents contributed still more to dispirit the Athenians, who concluded that every thing now acted in combination for their destruction. During

* About four miles.

† Two miles.

this interval of inaction Gylippus and the Syracusans sent off a detachment of their forces to throw up a work in their rear, where the enemy had already passed: but the Athenians sent also a detachment of their own body, which prevented its execution; and, after this, wheeling off with their whole body more into the plains, they halted there for the night.

The next morning they began to move forward again: and now the Syracusans, besetting them quite round in a circle, poured volleys of darts and arrows among them, and wounded numbers. If, indeed, the Athenians sallied out against them, they retreated; but when the Athenians drew back, they then pressed upon their retreat; and, falling in chiefly among their rear, if at any time they put small parties to flight, they struck a consternation into the whole army. But, for a long time, in such a train of skirmishings, the Athenians made good their ground; and advancing afterward the length of five or six stadia,* they halted in a plain. Here also the Syracusans no longer molested them, but withdrew to their own camp.

This night it was determined by Nicias and Demosthenes, that, since the army was reduced to so low a condition, and began already to be pressed with a total failure of provisions; since, farther, large numbers had been wounded in the many incidental assaults of the enemy, they should first kindle a great number of fires, and then march the whole army off, no longer by the route which they had first projected, but by another towards the sea, quite contrary to that which the Syracusans had already preoccupied and guarded. The residue of the march was no longer pointed towards Catana, but to the other coast of Sicily, towards Camarina, and Gela, and the cities in that quarter, both Grecian and Barbarian. In pursuance of this, a large number of fires being kindled, they dislodged in the dead of night.

This part of their retreat (as is the general fate of armies, but especially of the greatest, ever subject to fears and panics, particularly when moving in the night and on hostile ground, and conscious, farther, that the enemy is close at their heels) was made in a sad and disorderly manner. The column, indeed, under Nicias, which composed the van, kept firm together in a body, and quite outmarched the rest of the

* About half a mile.

army : but that under Demosthenes, being one half at least, if not the major part, of the whole force, was separated from the van, and came on in great confusion and disorder. However, by the dawn of day, they reached the coast ; and, gaining the great road which is called the Helorine, took their route along it, that, after they had reached the river Cacyparis, they might pierce upwards along the course of that river into the heart of the country : for thus they hoped to meet with the Siculi, whom they had summoned to be ready on their route. But, when they had gained the sight of that river, they found its banks already occupied by a Syracusan guard, busy in throwing up a rampart and palisade to defend its passage. This party they soon dispersed, and passed the river, and from thence advanced towards another river, the Erineus ; for thus their guides had planned their route.

In the meantime the Syracusans and allies, when the day was clearly broke, and they knew the Athenians had stolen off, began in general to throw heavy imputations on Gylippus, as if the Athenians had made their escape through his connivance. Yet, beginning the pursuit with all possible expedition (and it was easily discovered what route they had taken), they came up with them about the hour of repast : and, as they fell in first with the column under the orders of Demosthenes, which composed the rear, and had moved in a more slow and disorderly manner than the van, because the darkness of the night had so highly incommoded and confounded their march, they immediately charged them and fought. The Syracusan cavalry beset them quite round (the more easily, indeed, as they were separated from the van), and drove them into one crowded heap. But the column under Nicias was now fifty stadia* before them ; for Nicias led them forward with great celerity, concluding that their safety consisted, not in lingering voluntarily at so critical a period, or exposing themselves to an engagement, but in pushing forward with their utmost speed, and fighting only when by absolute necessity they were compelled to fight. But then Demosthenes was involved in a much more laborious and continued toil ; because, as he filed off last, the enemies were left upon his rear ; and, soon convinced that they had begun the pursuit, he was obliged, not so much to move forward, as

* About five miles.

to draw up his troops in the order of battle, till by such necessitated lingering he was environed by them, and himself and the body of Athenians under him were thrown into high tumult and confusion : for now, hemmed in as they were on a certain spot, quite surrounded by walls, and whence the issues both on one side and the other were full of olive-trees, they were terribly galled on their flanks by the darts of the enemy. This kind of annoyance the Syracusans wisely chose to give them, and to decline all close engagement ; because, to hazard the latter against enemies now become quite desperate, they judged would make more for the advantage of the Athenians than of themselves : though, at the same time, a kind of frugality, inspired by the great career of success they had already obtained, taught them not to exhaust their strength on superfluous encounters, and persuaded them that thus they might effectually subdue and make this great army their prisoners. When, therefore, for the whole remainder of the day, they had galled them on all sides with missive weapons, and now perceived that the Athenians and their allies were reduced to a miserable plight, by the wounds which they had received and the other calamities which lay hard upon them, Gylippus, in concert with the Syracusans and allies, caused a herald to proclaim—first, that “such inhabitants of the isles as would come over to them should rest in the secure enjoyment of their liberty :” upon which some cities, though not many, went over to them : and, in the next place, after some time, a surrender was agreed on of the whole body of troops commanded by Demosthenes, on the terms that “they should deliver up their arms, and no one should suffer death, either by public execution, or the miseries of a prison, or the want of necessary subsistence.” Thus this whole body, to the number of six thousand men, surrendered themselves prisoners, and produced all the silver they had about them, which they were commanded to throw into the hollows of shields, four of which in this manner were filled full with spoil ; and these prisoners the victors immediately led away to Syracuse.

But Nicias and the column under his command arrived the same day on the banks of the Erineus ; and, having passed that river, halted on an eminence. The day following the Syracusans, coming up to his post, notified to Nicias, that “those under Demosthenes had surrendered,” and summoned

him to follow their example. Incredulous of the fact, he begged leave to send out a horseman to discover the truth ; who upon his return affirming that " they had actually surrendered," Nicias sent an intimation to Gylippus and the Syracusans that he was ready to stipulate, in the name of the Athenians, that " whatever sums the Syracusans had expended in this war should be fairly reimbursed, on condition the forces under his command might have free departure ; but, till the money could be paid, he would leave with them a number of Athenians as hostages for performance, a man for a talent."

Gylippus and the Syracusans refused the offer ; and, resuming offensive measures, ranged their parties quite round the eminence, and poured in their missive weapons upon them till the evening. This body of troops was also sadly distressed for want of bread and necessary subsistence. Watching, however, for the dead and silent hours of the night, they were then determined to continue their march. They accordingly took up their arms ; the Syracusans perceived it, and sang the pæan of alarm. The Athenians were thus convinced that they could not dislodge without being discovered, and so grounded their arms again, all but one party of three hundred men ; for these having forced themselves a passage through the guards, made off in the night as fast as it was possible.

So soon as the day appeared, Nicias, at the head of his troops, led them forwards. But the Syracusans and allies pressed upon him on all sides in the usual manner, pouring in volleys of darts and javelins. The Athenians made the best of their way to reach the river Asinarus ; not only because, annoyed on all sides by the irruption of the numerous cavalry and skirmishing parties, they concluded they should be eased of these could they once pass that river, but also through bodily fatigue and a vehement desire to extinguish their thirst. When, therefore, they were upon the bank, they rushed into the river ; no longer observant of order, but each single soldier intent on passing the first of the army. And the enemy, who now pressed hard upon them, had rendered the passage already a business of toil : for, obliged as they were to go down in confused heaps, they fell and trampled upon one another ; some, embarrassed by their spears and luggage, met with instant destruction ; others, entangled in the crowd, were carried away by the current. The hither bank of the river was now filled with Syracusans ; and, it being naturally steep,

they poured down their darts upon the Athenians, numbers of whom were drinking greedily of the stream, confusedly hampered together in the hollow of the channel. The Peloponnesians, plunging in after them, made a great slaughter of those who were in the river. The water was immediately discoloured with blood ; but the stream, polluted with mud and gore, deterred them not from drinking it greedily, nor many of them from fighting desperately for a draught of it. But, in short, when the carcasses of the dead began to lie heaped one upon another in the river, and the whole army was become a continued carnage,* of some in the river, and those who were making off from the banks by the horsemen of the foe, Nicias surrendered himself prisoner to Gylippus, into whose power he chose to fall sooner than into that of the Syracusans. He told him, that " he himself and the Lacedæmonians might decide his fate as best pleased themselves : but entreated that a stop might be put to the slaughter of his soldiers." Upon this, Gylippus issued out orders to give quarter ; and thus they carried off the remnants of this body as prisoners of war, such excepted as were secreted by their captors, the number of which was large. Having, farther, detached a party in pursuit of the three hundred, who in the night had broken through the guard, they also made them prisoners. The whole number now collected together as the public prize was not large ; but very numerous were they who were clandestinely secreted. Not a town in Sicily but was crowded with them, since these had not surrendered upon terms like those under Demosthenes. A considerable number had also perished ; for this was a terrible slaughter ; nay, there was no one greater in the course of the Sicilian war ; and in the preceding skirmishes, which had happened very frequently during the march, not a few had been slain. Yet, notwithstanding all this, many made their escape ; some from the scenes of action, and others from their prisons, from whence they afterward gained an opportunity to run away. These repaired to Catana, as a safe resort.

And now the Syracusans and allies, in one grand collective body, having amassed together as large a number of prisoners

* According to Diodorus Siculus, the number of the slain amounted to eighteen thousand men.

as they possibly could, and all the spoils, returned in triumph to Syracuse. The bulk of prisoners, whether of the Athenians or their confederates, whom they had taken, they thrust down into the quarries, concluding that from such a confinement they could not possibly make escape ; but Nicias and Demosthenes, in spite of all the remonstrances of Gylippus, they butchered : for Gylippus imagined that the finishing of this war would invest himself with pre-eminent degrees of glory, if, besides the rest of his achievements, he could carry home to the Lacedæmonians the generals of the enemy. It had, farther, so happened, that one of these, that is, Demosthenes, was regarded as their most inveterate enemy, because of his exploits against them in the Island of Sphacteria and Pylos ; and the other, Nicias, as their most sincere well-wisher, from his behaviour on those very incidents : for Nicias had strenuously exerted himself in behalf of those Lacedæmonians who were made prisoners in the island. It was he who prevailed with the Athenians to sign the treaty, in pursuance of which they were released. For such services done them, the Lacedæmonians had a kindness for him ; and it had been chiefly owing to his assurance of this that he surrendered himself prisoner to Gylippus. But a party of the Syracusans, as was generally reported, fearful, because they had kept up a correspondence with him, lest, if put to the torture, he might now, amid the general prosperity, involve them in trouble ; others also, and, not least of all, the Corinthians, lest, as he was rich, he might purchase the connivance of his keepers to get his liberty, and then again might have influence enough to foment fresh stirs to their prejudice, obtained the concurrence of their allies, and put him to death. For these, or reasons most nearly neighbouring to these, was Nicias doomed to destruction ; though the man, of all the Grecians in the present age, who least deserved so wretched a catastrophe, since his whole life was one uniform series of piety towards the Deity.*

As for those who were doomed to the quarries, the Syracusans treated them at first with outrageous severity. As great numbers were crowded together in this hollow dungeon, the beams of the sun, in the first place, and then the suffocating air, annoyed them in a more terrible manner, be-

* Mr. Hobbes, in his translation, has omitted this last comma.

cause the aperture was left uncovered ; and each succeeding night, the reverse of the preceding day, autumnal and nipping, through such vicissitudes, threw them into strange disorders. Thus straitened as they were for room, they did whatever they had to do on one and the same spot ; and the carcasses of those who died lay heaped up promiscuously together, as some expired of their wounds, and others perished through the vicissitudes of air they suffered, or some other such deadly cause. At length the stench became intolerably noisome : and they were farther oppressed with hunger and thirst : for, during the space of eight months, the allowance to each was only a cotyl* of water and two cotyl† of bread a day. Nay, whatever species of misery numbers cooped up in so close a confinement might be liable to suffer, not one of these but pressed cruelly upon them. They were all thus thronged and dieted together for seventy days : but, after this term, all but the Athenians, and such of the Sicilians and Italians as had joined with them in the invasion, were sold out for slaves.‡

What the whole number of prisoners was, it is hard ex-

* Little more than half a pint. † About 32 solid inches.

‡ "The decent and engaging behaviour of the Athenians was of great service to them ; for by it they either soon obtained their liberty, or were highly esteemed and caressed by their masters. Some of them were indebted for their freedom to Euripides. The Sicilians, it seems, were fonder of the muse of Euripides, than were even the people who lived in Greece itself. If the strangers, who were often resorting to Sicily, brought them any specimens or morsels of his poetry, they learned them by heart, and with high delight communicated them to their friends. It is said that several, who by this means earned their liberty, went afterward to wait upon Euripides, in token of their gratitude ; assuring him, some of them, that they had been released from slavery for teaching their masters what pieces of his writings they were able to repeat ; and others, that, when vagabonds after the defeat, they had been supplied with meat and drink for singing some of his lines. This is not to be wondered at : since even a Caunian vessel, which, being hard chased by pirates, and endeavouring to get for refuge into a Sicilian harbour, was however kept off by force ; till at length, being asked whether they could repeat any of Euripides' verses, they answered in the affirmative ; upon which they obtained immediate reception and refuge."—*Plutarch in the life of Nicias.*

actly to relate ; but, however, they could not be fewer than seven thousand. And this proved to be the greatest Grecian exploit of all that happened in the course of this war ; and, in my opinion, of all that occurred in the whole history of Greece ; since the event to the victors was most glorious, and to the vanquished most calamitous ; for in every respect they were totally overpowered, and their miseries in no respect had any mitigation ; in short, root and branch, as is commonly said, their land-army and their shipping were now ruined ; nay, nothing belonging to them was exempted from destruction ; and few, out of all their numbers, had the good fortune to revisit their native country.

Such were the transactions in Sicily.*

* Some Iambic verses of an unknown author are found at the end of this book in the later Greek editions ; and I beg the reader to accept the following translation of them :—

“The pride of glory, the exalted height,
The frequent trophies on the land and sea,
The long career of well-deserved success,
On which their great forefathers tower’d aloft,
While Persia trembled at the Athenian name,
Now droop’d at once !—A chaos soon succeeds,
Of anarchy, destruction, and distress :
Low ebb’d the state, as high it erst had flow’d.”

BOOK VIII.

The news of the overthrow in Sicily causes a great consternation at Athens.—All Greece is in combination against them; and their dependants are meditating revolts.—YEAR XX. Revolt of the Chians.—An alliance between Darius Nothus and the Lacedæmonians.—The war transferred to Ionia.—Battle of Miletus.—A second alliance between Darius and the Lacedæmonians.—Proceedings at Chios.—Revolt of Rhodes.—The politic conduct of Alcibiades: his intrigues.—A sedition among the Athenians at Samos in favour of an oligarchy.—Phrynichus counterplots Alcibiades.—A third alliance between Darius and the Lacedæmonians.—YEAR XXI. Proceedings at Chios.—The democracy overturned in several places of the Athenian jurisdiction; and at Athens, by the influence of Antipho, Phrynichus, and Theramenes.—A council of four hundred take upon them the government.—The army at Samos declares for the democracy, recalls Alcibiades, and elects him general.—Athens full of factions.—Phrynichus stabbed.—A tumult; in the midst of which the fleet of the enemy appears in sight.—Battle of Eretria, and revolt of Eubœa.—The four hundred are deposed, and a new form of government settled at Athens.—The banishment of Alcibiades repealed.—Battle of Cynos-Sema.

YEAR XIX.

WHEN the news was reported at Athens, no belief for a long time was given, even though the most creditable part of the soldiery, who had made their escape from this disastrous business, proved it by a circumstantial relation, that so total a destruction was become their lot.* But no sooner were they convinced of its reality, than their resentments burst

* Plutarch, from report, tells an odd story on this occasion. "A stranger, who (it seems) had come ashore at the Piræus, and had set him down in a barber's shop, began to talk about the overthrow in Sicily as a point well known at Athens. The barber, hearing it before any other person had the news, ran with all speed up into the city; and, having first informed the magistrates of it, spread the report in an instant all over the forum. Consternation and tumult at once ensued. The magistrates convened an assembly of the people, and produced the

forth against those of the orators who had advised and recommended the expedition, as if their own suffrages had never concurred to its execution. They farther vented their gall against those retailers of oracles and foretellers of future events, against all in general, who, pretending privity to the will of heaven, had elevated their hopes with the certain conquest of Sicily. On all sides now all manner of disasters environed them about; and never had Athens been thrown into so great a consternation and dejection as at the present juncture: for now, besides what each private family suffered, as the public at the same time had lost the bulk of its heavy-armed and horsemen, and that flower of its youth which they saw it impossible to replace, they were sorely dejected. Conscious, farther, that they had not shipping sufficient in their docks for a fresh equipment, nor money in the public treasury, nor even hands to man what vessels they had left, they gave up all hope of deliverance in the present plunge. Their enemies from Sicily they imagined would soon enter the Piræus with a powerful navy, especially as they were flushed with such a career of success; and their enemies nearer home would now, for a certainty, redouble their preparations, and with the utmost resolution fall upon them at once both by sea and land, and be farther strengthened by the revolt of their own temporizing confederates. At last, however, they agreed it was their duty to do what might yet be done; not basely to abandon their own preservation, but to fit out a navy, by collecting from all possible resources both timber and money; and timely to secure their own dependant states, above all, Eubœa; and to reduce the expenses of the civil administration with all possible economy; and to lodge the sovereignty in the hands of a select body of old experienced statesmen, whose maturer counsels might, if possible, yet extricate the state from its present misfortunes. Such an effect had the general consternation now upon them, an effect not unusual with a people, that they became heartily disposed to order

barber before them. He was called upon to tell from whom he had the news; and when he could not name the person, being looked upon as an idle fellow and a disturber of the public peace, he was immediately tied upon the wheel, and a long time whirled round upon it, till several persons arrived who gave a minute and circumstantial account of the whole."—*Life of Nicias.*

their government aright. And, as to such resolutions they came, they proceeded, farther, to put them in execution : and the summer ended.

In the beginning of the ensuing winter, animated by the terrible blow the Athenians had received in Sicily, the whole body of Greece was alert against them. Even such as had hitherto observed a strict neutrality, without so much as waiting for a formal invitation to accede, thought it incumbent upon themselves no longer to be absent from the war, but voluntarily to enter the lists against the Athenians. Not a state but reasoned thus : that "themselves also, these Athenians, had they succeeded in Sicily, would undoubtedly have attacked ;" and then concluded that, "as the war for certainty was very nearly finished, it would be glorious for them to have a hand in its completion." But the old confederates of the Lacedæmonians, as their desires were greater, so they exerted themselves now with higher alacrity than ever to procure a speedy relaxation of their heavy burdens. Yet, in a most remarkable manner, such states as were dependant upon Athens manifested their readiness to revolt, even beyond the bounds of caution ; since now they formed their judgments in all the warmth of indignation, and could discern no probable method by which the Athenians could retard their ruin for another summer.

All these circumstances coinciding, the Lacedæmonian state became prodigiously alert : and, above all, with the expectation that their confederates of Sicily, with a powerful reinforcement, as their navies must now of necessity act in concert, would be with them, in all probability, very early in the spring. In every view their hopes were gallant and elate. They determined to go on with the war without any delay ; concluding that, if once brought well to a conclusion, they should ever for the future be released from such dangers as had lately threatened from Athens, in case Sicily had been reduced ; and, should they now demolish their competitors, must remain for the future supreme leaders of Greece, without fear of a reverse.

Instantly, therefore, Agis their king, though in the depth of winter, sallying forth with a body of troops from Decelea, marched round the confederacy, levying sums of money for the service of the marine. Turning his route to the Melian Gulf, he took a large booty from the Cætæans, against whom.

their enmity had been of long duration, which he converted into money. He also compelled those Achæans who were seated in the Phthiotis, and other states in this quarter dependant on Thessaly, spite of all the complaints and murmurs of the Thessalians, to give him some hostages for their good behaviour, and to furnish him with money. He disposed of these hostages into safe custody at Corinth, and spared no pains to get them over into the alliance.

The Lacedæmonians, farther, circulated an order among their states for the building of one hundred sail of ships. They taxed themselves and the Bœotians to furnish respectively twenty-five; the Phocians and Locrians fifteen; the Corinthians fifteen; the Arcadians, and Pellenians, and Sicyonians, ten; the Megareans, and Træzenians, and Epidaurians, and Hermionians, ten. They went to work with all other needful preparations, that they might prosecute the war briskly upon the first approach of spring.

The Athenians, on the other hand, were not remiss in preparing for their own defence; since, in pursuance of the plan they had formed, they were busy during all the winter in building of ships, having collected proper quantities of timber; and in fortifying Sunium, that the navigation of their victuallers round that cape might be preserved from molestation. They also evacuated the fortress in Laconia which they had raised in the voyage to Sicily; and in all respects, where they judged themselves involved in any less needful expense, they contracted their disbursements with the utmost frugality. But their principal care was keeping a close eye upon their dependants, that they might not revolt.

Amid these employments of both parties, which were nothing less than most earnest preparations on all sides, as if war was just in its commencement, the Eubœans took the lead, and sent ambassadors this winter to treat with Agis about a revolt from the Athenians. Agis accepted what terms they proposed; and sent for Alcamenes, the son of Sthenelaidas, and Melanthus, from Lacedæmon, to pass over as commanders into Eubœa. Accordingly they arrived, with a body of citizens newly enfranchised,* to the number of about three hundred; and Agis was preparing for their transportation; but in this interval the Lesbians arrived, with declarations of their readiness to revolt; and, as they were seconded by

* Neodamodes.

the recommendations of the Bœotians, Agis was persuaded to put off for a time the affair of Eubœa, and began to expedite the revolt of the Lesbians, having assigned them Alcamenes for their governor, who was to have passed over to Eubœa. The Bœotians promised to send them ten ships, and Agis ten. These points were transacted without the privity of the Lacedæmonian state; for Agis, so long as he continued at Decelea, having under his command the army of the state, was invested with a power of sending detachments whithersoever he thought proper, and to levy men and money at his own discretion: and it may with truth be affirmed, that the confederates, during this period, paid a much greater deference to him than to the state of Lacedæmon; for, having a powerful force under his own orders, he was formidable in his every motion. And thus he arbitrarily settled the negotiation of the Lesbians.

But then the Chians and the Erythræans, who were also desirous to revolt, addressed themselves, not to Agis, but at Lacedæmon. In their company also went thither an ambassador from Tissaphernes, who was lieutenant for Darius, the son of Artaxerxes, in the maritime provinces of Asia. Even Tissaphernes concerned himself now to inflame the Peloponnesian ardour, and promised them large supplies: for lately he had been summoned by the king to make returns of the revenue of his government; which, not being able to exact from the Grecian cities, because of the Athenians, he was run into a large arrear. He concluded, therefore, that, could he demolish the Athenians, he then with great ease might levy the tributes; what is more, might make the Lacedæmonians confederates to the king; and might at length convey to him, either alive or dead, Amorges, the bastard son of Pisuthnes, who had revolted in Caria, as the king had expressly commanded. The Chians, therefore, and Tissaphernes, were now negotiating this point in concert.

Calligitus, the son of Laophon, a Megarean, and Timagoras, the son of Athenagoras, a Cyzicene, both exiles from their native places and refuged with Pharnabazus, the son of Pharnabacrus, arrived at Lacedæmon about the same point of time, commissioned by Pharnabazus to procure an aid of shipping for the Hellespont, by which he might be enabled (the very same thing as Tissaphernes desired) to work the revolt of the cities within his district from the Athenian obe-

dience, because of the tributes, and expeditiously to gain for himself the credit of having procured for his master the alliance of the Lacedæmonians. As the agents of Pharnabazus and those also of Tissaphernes were negotiating the same point, though apart from each other, a great debate arose among the statesmen at Lacedæmon; one party insisting, with vehemence, that an aid of shipping and a land-force should be sent to Ionia and Chios; another party, that they should be sent first to Hellespont. The Lacedæmonians, however, complied by far the soonest with the demands of the Chians and Tissaphernes. Alcibiades, indeed, espoused the cause of the latter, from an extraordinary zeal to mark hereditary friendship to Endius, who at this juncture presided in the college of ephori. On this account it was that the family of Alcibiades, in compliment to this friendship, had taken a Lacedæmonian name; for this Endius was the son of an Alcibiades. Yet, previously, the Lacedæmonians despatched Phrynīs, a person born and educated in those parts, to Chios, to inspect the state of affairs there, and report whether they had so large a number of shipping as they pretended, and their situation in other respects equalised the fine account they had given of it. Accordingly, when Phrynīs had reported "that all the accounts they had heard were true," the Chians and Erythræans were instantly admitted allies. They voted, farther, to send them forty sail of shipping, as there were already assembled at Chios not fewer than sixty from places which the Chians named. Ten of these they designed to despatch, as soon as possible, under the command of Melanchridas, who was appointed admiral. But afterward, the shock of an earthquake being felt, instead of Melanchridas they sent Chalcideus; and, instead of ten, equipped in Lacedæmonia only five ships for their service.

Here the winter ended; and the nineteenth year of this war came also to an end, of which Thucydides has compiled the history.

YEAR IX.*

Summer now coming on, as the Chians were most earnestly soliciting the despatch of the ships, and also afraid lest the Athenians should get notice of their transactions, for

* Before Christ 412.

the whole of the negotiation had been carried on without the knowledge of the latter, the Lacedæmonians sent to Corinth three citizens of Sparta, to prevail with that state for the transportation of their ships with all possible expedition across the isthmus, from the other sea into that which lies towards Athens, that all in a body might stand away for Chios; as well those which Agis had destined for the service of Lesbos as the rest. The whole number of shipping belonging to the alliance, now assembled together there, amounted to thirty-nine.

But Calligitus truly and Timagoras refused, in the name of Pharnabazus, to have any participation in the expedition to Chios; nor would part with the money they had brought with them, which was five-and-twenty talents,* to disburse this equipment. They intended to get another fitted out, which should sail away under their own orders.

As for Agis, when he now perceived that the Lacedæmonians were determined to go first to Chios, he no longer suffered his own projects to clash with those of the state; but the confederates now assembling at Corinth proceeded to draw up a plan of operations. It was accordingly agreed that they should go first to Chios, under the command of Chalcideus, who fitted out the five ships in Laconia; from thence to Lesbos, under the command of Alcamenes, whom Agis had destined for that service: in the last place they should proceed to Hellespont, and in this service it was agreed beforehand that Clearchus, the son of Ramphias, should take upon him the command. But the first step should be the transportation of a moiety of their shipping across the isthmus, which were immediately to stand out to sea, that the attention of the Athenians might be less engaged upon such as were already in their course than on those which were to follow: for now they determined to cross the sea in an open insulting manner, as they contemned the present impotence of the Athenians, because they had no considerable force anywhere at sea.

When these resolutions were formally completed, they immediately transported one-and-twenty ships. Expeditious sailing was earnestly solicited; but the Corinthians declared a reluctance to go the voyage till they had celebrated the

* 4843*l*. 15*s*. sterling.

Isthmian games, which were at hand. To remove this obstacle, Agis declared himself ready to have the whole procedure charged to his own account, that they might be cleared from a breach of the Isthmian cessation. The Corinthians not complying with this proposal, and delay necessarily resulting from it, the Athenians gained by this an earlier discovery of the negotiations of the Chians; and, despatching Aristocrates, one of their generals, charged them openly with the guilt of such a procedure. The Chians as strenuously denying the charge, they commanded them to send away their shipping forthwith to Athens by way of pledge for their safety.

The Chians accordingly sent seven. But the detachment of these was entirely owing to the popular party of that island, who had been kept in utter ignorance of the late negotiation. The few who were privy to it had no mind to incur the popular resentment before they were enabled to stem its fury; especially as now they had resigned all hope of the arrival of the Peloponnesians, whose motions were exceedingly dilatory.

In the meantime the Isthmian games were solemnized; and at these the Athenians, who had the regular invitation sent them, assisted in form. The practices of the Chians became here more apparent to them than ever. No sooner, therefore, were they returned to Athens, than they put all the needful expedients in readiness, to prevent the squadron which was to sail from Cenchræ from passing undiscovered.

When the festival was over, the latter, with one-and-twenty sail, under the command of Alcarnenes, stood out to sea in order for Chios. And the Athenians, advancing against them, at first with an equal number of ships, stood off again into open sea; but, when the Peloponnesians would not follow them far, but stood into the land, the Athenians disappeared; for, having among their number the seven ships of the Chians, they thought it not safe to trust them: but, having afterward manned out others, to the amount of thirty-seven, they drove the enemy along the coast into Piræus of the Corinthians: this is a desert harbour, and the last upon the confines of Epidauria. One ship, indeed, which the enemy came up with at sea, the Peloponnesians lost; but all the rest they drew together to a station within the harbour. Here the Athenians attacked them, on the water with their ships, and by land with a party sent purposely on shore. The attack was attended with great confusion, and carried on in a

disorderly manner. The party of the Athenians which attacked from the land disabled the bulk of the squadron, and killed the commander Alcarnenes; some also of their own people perished in the action. But, when the dispute was ended, they posted a sufficient number of their ships to lie facing those of the enemy; and, with the remainder, anchored near a little island, on which, as it lay at a small distance, they formed an encampment, and sent away to Athens for a re-enforcement.

In favour of the Peloponnesians came up, on the day following, not only the Corinthians, but soon after a number also of others, from the adjacent country, in aid of the squadron; who, perceiving that the preservation of it would be a work of laborious toil on so desert a coast, were sadly perplexed. Some argued vehemently for setting the ships on fire; but at length it was concluded to draw them ashore, and, encamping with their land-forces round them, to guard them from the enemy till some convenient opportunity should offer of getting them away. Agis, also, when informed of their situation, sent to them Therino, a citizen of Sparta.

To the Lacedæmonians the first advice that had been sent was this:—that “the squadron had set sail from the isthmus;” for orders had been given Alcarnenes by the ephori, that, when this point was executed, he should despatch a horseman to them: and immediately then they had determined to despatch away the commander Chalcideus, accompanied by Alcibiades, with the five ships of their own equipment; but, at the instant they were ready to move off, the news arrived that “the squadron had been driven into Piræus.” Dejected by this unexpected event, because they had stumbled in the very first entrance on an Ionian war, they no longer persisted in the design of sending away their own ships, but even thought of recalling some of those which were already at sea. But, as this was discovered by Alcibiades, he again persuaded Endius and the other ephori by no means entirely to give up the expedition; assuring them, that, “by a timely despatch, they yet might make that island before any information of the disaster which had befallen the squadron could reach the Chians; and of himself, were he once in Ionia, he could easily effectuate the revolt of the cities, by opening their eyes in respect to the weakness of the Athenians and the hearty and vigorous interposition of the Lacedæmonians.”

dæmonians, since on these topics he should be heard with greater deference than any other person whatever." He also privately encouraged Endius with the prospect of "great glory to himself, if through him Ionia could be brought to revolt, and the king be made confederate to Lacedæmon, while Agis had no hand in these masterly strokes of policy;" for he happened now to be at variance with Agis.* By such insinuations Alcibiades prevailed upon the ephori and Endius, and sailed away with the five ships, in company with Chalceus, the Lacedæmonian; and the voyage they performed with all possible expedition.

About the same time the sixteen ships, which had been at the war of Sicily under the orders of Gylippus, regained in safety the Peloponnesian ports. They had been intercepted near Leucadia, and terribly harassed by twenty-seven sail of Athenians, commanded by Hippocles, the son of Menippus, who was stationed there to watch the return of the fleet from Sicily. Yet only a single ship was lost. The rest, escaping the Athenian chase, arrived safe in the harbour of Corinth.

But Chalceus and Alcibiades, who were now upon their voyage, stopped and detained whatever they met, that their course might not be divulged: and, touching first at Corycus on the main, and there setting at liberty such as they had detained, and gaining a conference with some of the Chians who were privy to their designs, by whom being ad-

* No reasons are here assigned for the variance between Alcibiades and Agis. Numbers of probable ones might occur from the different tempers and manners of the persons: but we learn from Plutarch that Alcibiades had been intriguing with Timæa, the wife of Agis, and had a son by her, who was called Leotychides, disowned afterward by Agis, and incapacitated from succeeding to the throne. Alcibiades was always dissolute; and yet this, it seems, was merely to gratify his pride, since he declared his intention in this intrigue to have been that his descendants might reign at Sparta. This fine gentleman from Athens was exceedingly agreeable in the eyes of her Spartan majesty; even though his deportment at Sparta was such as if he had been trained from his birth in the severe discipline of Lycurgus. He was a thorough Spartan—shaved close, plunged into cold water, could make a meal on dry bread, and feast on black broth. "One would think," says Plutarch, "he had never kept a cook in his life, never seen a perfumer, nor ever worn a Milesian robe."—*Life of Alcibiades.*

vised to make directly for the harbour of Chios, without any formal notification, they arrived there, entirely unexpected by the Chians. By this, the many were thrown at once into astonishment and terror; but the few had so conducted matters that the council was that moment sitting; in which Chalcideus and Alcibiades being admitted, they said—that “many other ships were coming up;” but, suppressing all mention of the squadron blocked up at Piræus, the Chians declared a revolt from the Athenians, and the Erythræans soon followed their example.

So far successful, they passed on with three ships to Clazomenæ, and caused that city also to revolt. Instantly upon this the Clazomenians crossed over into the continent, and fortified Polichne, to be a place of safe resort for themselves, in case obliged to quit the isle they occupied at present. All the revolters, in short, were warmly employed in fortifying their towns, and making preparations for war.

At Athens the news soon arrived of the revolt of Chios. They were now convinced that horrid and apparent dangers already environed them about, and that the rest of their dependants would not long be quiet, when the most powerful state among them had thrown off the yoke. Now, therefore, the thousand talents,* which through all the course of the war they had religiously refrained from touching, the penalties being discharged which the law inflicted upon him who should move, or whoever should vote it, amid their present consternation, they decreed “should be employed in the public service, and that a large number of ships should by this means be equipped; that, farther, from the squadron which blocked up Piræus, eight ships should immediately be detached;” which, accordingly, quitting the blockade, pursued the squadron under Chalcideus, but, being unable to come up with them, returned again. This detachment was commanded by Strombichides, the son of Diotimus; that “soon after twelve others, under the orders of Thrasyacles, should repair to Chios, there also to be detached from the same blockade.” Having, moreover, fetched off the seven vessels belonging to the Chians, which assisted in forming the blockade at Piræus, they set at liberty the slaves who were on board them, and threw all the freemen into prison. But, to replace the whole num-

* 193,750*l.* sterling.

ber detached from the blockade of the Peloponnesians, they lost no time in fitting out other vessels and sending them to that post. They had also a scheme for the expeditious equipment of thirty more. Great, indeed, was their ardour; and nothing of small importance was taken in hand, as the point in agitation was no less than the recovery of Chios.

In the meantime Strombichides, with the eight sail of ships, arrived at Samos; and, taking with him one Samian vessel, stood onwards to Teos, and required of them "to have no participation in the present commotions." From Chios, also, Chalcideus was now coming over to Teos, with a fleet of three-and-twenty sail, and the land-force of the Clazomenians, and also of the Erythræans, attending his motions, was marching thither by land: but Strombichides, having timely notice of their approach, put out again before their arrival. Standing out aloof into open sea, he had a view of this numerous fleet in their course from Chios; upon which he fled amain to Samos. But the enemy followed in pursuit.

The Teians, who at first refused admittance to the land-forces, when now the Athenians plainly fled, thought proper to open their gates. Here the bulk of them were inactive for a time, attending the return of Chalcideus from the pursuit. But, when time wore on without his appearing, they demolished of their own accord the wall which the Athenians had built on the side of Teos facing the continent. In this they were also assisted by a small party of Barbarians, who in this interval had joined them, and were commanded by Tages, the deputy of Tissaphernes.

But Chalcideus and Alcibiades, when they had chased Strombichides into Samos, having furnished the mariners of the Peloponnesian vessels with proper arms, left them as a garrison in Chios. Having manned their vessels afresh at Chios, with an addition of twenty others, they stood away for Miletus, as meditating its revolt. This was owing to Alcibiades; who, having an interest in persons of the first rank among the Milesians, made it a point to effectuate their accession before the fleet should come up from Peloponnesus, and to secure the whole honour to the Chians and himself, and Chalcideus and Endius who had sent him, in pursuance of his engagements, to work the revolt of the cities, with the sole power of the Chians and with Chalcideus. Having therefore performed the greatest part of their voyage thither without being

discovered, and prevented by a small portion of time Strombichides, and also Thrasyclus, who was lately come up from Athens with twelve ships, and in junction with the former followed after them, they caused Miletus to revolt. The Athenians indeed, with nineteen sail, arrived upon their heels ; but, as the Milesians denied them a reception, they took their station at Lade, an adjacent island.

The first alliance between the king and the Lacedæmonians was made immediately after the revolt of Miletus, by Tissaphernes and Chalcideus, as follows :—

“On these terms the Lacedæmonians and confederates make an alliance with the king and Tissaphernes—

“Whatever region or cities the king possesses and the ancestors of the king possessed, be those the king’s.

“And, out of those cities, whatever sums of money or any other supply went to the Athenians, let the king and the Lacedæmonians and confederates jointly stop, that the Athenians may no longer receive those sums of money, nor any other such supply.

“And the war against the Athenians let the king and the Lacedæmonians and confederates jointly carry on.

“And be it unlawful to put an end to the war against the Athenians without the consent of both the contracting parties ; of the king on one side, of the Lacedæmonians and confederates on the other.

“If, farther, any revolt from the king, be they declared enemies to the Lacedæmonians and confederates.

“And, if any revolt from the Lacedæmonians and confederates, be they declared enemies, in the same manner, to the king.”

This alliance was now formally concluded.

Immediately after this, the Chians, who had manned out ten additional ships, stood away to Anæa, being desirous to pick up some information of what was doing at Miletus, and at the same time to cause the revolt of the cities. Here, being reached by an order from Chalcideus to return back to Chios, with an intimation that Amorges with a land-army would soon be upon them, they sailed away to the temple of Jupiter. From hence they descried sixteen ships, which Diomedon was bringing up from Athens, from whence he had sailed somewhat later than Thrasyclus. Upon this discovery they fled again with a single ship to Ephesus, but with the

rest of their fleet to Teos. Four indeed of the number, which their crews had abandoned, the Athenians took ; yet all the hands escaped on shore ; but the remainder reached in safety the city of the Teians. After this, the Athenians stood away into Samos ; but the Chians, putting again to sea with the residue of their ships, and attended by a land-force, caused Lebedos to revolt, and also Eræ. And, these points carried, both the land-force and the squadron returned respectively to their own homes.

About the same time the twenty sail of Peloponnesians, which had been chased into Piræus, and lay blocked up there by an equal number of Athenians, having made an unexpected sally upon the enemy, and got the better in a naval engagement, took four of the Athenian ships : and, sailing away from Cenchræ, were again fitting out for the voyage to Chios and Ionia. Astyochus also came down thither from Lacedæmon as admiral, in whose hands the whole command at sea was now lodged.

When the land-army had quitted Teos, Tissaphernes in person came thither with a body, and, after completely demolishing those parts of the wall before Teos which were yet left standing, marched away.

Not long after his departure, Diomedon, arriving there with ten sail of Athenians, in order to gain a reception, made a truce with the Teians. From thence he coasted along to Eræ, and assaulted the place ; but, not being able to take it, he sailed away.

Coinciding with this in point of time, an insurrection was made at Samos by the people against the nobility. The Athenians, who with three ships were then lying at Samos, assisted the former. On this occasion the Samian people massacred about two hundred persons, all of the nobility. Four hundred others they condemned to exile ; and, having divided among themselves their lands and houses, and obtained from the Athenians a decree of being governed by their own constitutions, as men whose fidelity was no longer to be suspected, they assumed the whole civil administration, leaving no share of it in the hands of the landed gentry, and absolutely prohibiting to the people all alliance for the future with them, so as neither to give their daughters to them nor ever to marry theirs.

After these transactions, during the same summer, the

Chians, proceeding with unabating ardour, left nothing undone to compass the revolt of the cities. Even without Peloponnesian aid they made them visits with their own single force; and, desirous at the same time to involve as large a number as possible in their own dangers, they undertook a voyage with thirteen sail of ships to Lesbos. This squared exactly with the Lacedæmonian plan; which was, to make the second attempt upon that island, and from thence to proceed to Hellespont. The land-force, at the same time, of such of the Peloponnesians as were at hand, and their adjacent allies, attended their motions by the route of Clazomenæ and Cyme: these were commanded by Eualas, a Spartan; but the fleet was under the orders of Deixiadas, a native of those parts: and those ships, steering first towards and arriving at Methymne, caused its revolt.† * * * *

But Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian admiral-in-chief, putting to sea from Cenchreæ, where he had taken upon him the command, with four sail of shipping arrived at Chios: and, the third day after his arrival there, twenty-five sail of Athenians, commanded by Leon and Diomedon, reached the Isle of Lesbos; for Leon had been lately sent from Athens with a re-enforcement of ten. On the very evening of that day, Astyochus put out again to sea, with the addition of one Chian ship, and stood away for Lesbos to give them all the assistance in his power. Accordingly he touched first at Pyrrha, proceeding from thence the day following to Eressus, where information met him that Mitylene had been taken by the Athenians at a shout; for the latter, as their arrival was entirely unexpected, standing boldly into the harbour, seized at once all the Chian vessels; and then landing, and gaining a victory over such as made any head against them, became masters of the city. Astyochus, informed of this event by the Eressians, and the Chian ships under the command of Eubulus from Methymne,—which, having been left in the harbour at that place, had fled at once when Mitylene was taken, three of them came up safe to Astyochus, but one had fallen into the hands of the Athenians;—Astyochus now desisted

† From what follows it looks as if some words were wanting here. The Latin translators have endeavoured to supply it, thus:—"And the Chians, leaving four ships here for the defence of the place, stood away with the rest to Mitylene, and caused it to revolt."

from proceeding to Mitylene. Having effectuated the revolt of Eressus, and provided the inhabitants with arms, he ordered the soldiers from on board his own squadron to march by land, under the command of Eteonicus, towards Antissa and Methymne; while himself, with his own ships and the three Chians, advanced along the shore towards the same places. He hoped the Methymneans, upon the sight of this succour, would resume their spirits and abide by their revolt. But, when every thing in Lesbos seemed to act in concert against his scheme, he took his landmen again on board, and made the best of his way back again to Chios. The forces, farther, that had attended the motions of his squadron, and which were to have proceeded with him to Hellespont, were dismissed to their respective cities. After this they were joined at Chios by six ships, which were sent thither by the confederate fleet of Peloponnesians assembled at Cenchrææ.

The Athenians in the meantime were employed in resettling the state of affairs in Lesbos. Standing across from thence, and demolishing Polichne, on the continent, lately fortified by the Clazomenians, they removed all the latter back again to their city in the island, excepting such as were authors of the revolt; for these had retired to Daphnus. And thus Clazomenæ once more became subject to the Athenians.

The same summer the Athenians, who with twenty ships had stationed themselves at Lade to awe Miletus, having made a descent at Panormus in the Milesian territory, killed Chalcideus, the Lacedæmonian, who with a handful of men endeavoured to repulse them. The third day after this action they re-embarked; but first erected a trophy, which the Milesians thought proper to demolish, as not fixed on a spot which was the property of the victors.

Leon also and Diomedon, at the head of the Athenian fleet on the station of Lesbos, assembling together what force they could from the Oinussæ islands, which lie before Chios, and from Sidusa and Pteleum, fortresses of their own in Erythræa, stood away from Lesbos in a body, and carried on the war by sea against the Chians. The land-soldiers on board them were some of the heavy-armed of the public roll of Athens, now pressed into this service. At Cardamyle they landed; and at Bolissus, having routed in battle a body of Chians that made head against them, and done great execution upon them, they reduced all the places in that quarter of the island. At

Phanæ, also, they fought a second time with great success ; and, a third time, at Leuconium : but as, after these repeated defeats, the Chians no longer showed themselves in the field to oppose them, the victors made cruel ravage on that rich and fertile country ; and which, from the invasion of the Medes to the present period of time, had been totally exempted from the miseries of war : for, next to the Lacedæmonians, the Chians were the only people who (as far as I have been able to observe) have enjoyed a series of public prosperity with a steady and uniform moderation, and, in proportion as their state increased in wealth and power, made suitable accessions to its domestic splendour and security. Nay, even their late revolt, if this should chance to be ascribed to a want of judicious and cautionary measures, they never ventured to declare, till they had fortified the hazardous step with numerous and gallant confederates, and saw plainly that the Athenians (as even the Athenians themselves could not possibly deny), after the blow received in Sicily, were plunged into the lowest depth of impotence and distress. If, therefore, they proved mistaken, it was one of those cases inseparable from the constant mutability of human affairs, where numbers were involved in the same mistake with themselves, who yet, in their judgment, were perfectly convinced that the entire ruin of Athens was fast approaching.

Now, therefore, blocked up as they were by sea, while their lands all around were ravaged by the enemy, a party among them were concerting the method of delivering up the city into the hands of the Athenians. But those in the administration, getting wind of their design, refrained indeed from making a bustle about it in public ; but, fetching over Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian admiral-in-chief, with his four ships, from Erythræ, they consulted how to prevent the execution of the plot by the mildest and most gentle methods, either by taking hostages for the fidelity of the suspected, or some other such cautionary expedients. In this posture stood affairs at Chios.

But, from Athens, in the close of the same summer, one thousand five hundred heavy-armed Athenians, and a thousand Argives (for five hundred Argives, who were but light-armed, the Athenians had equipped in the manner more complete), with the addition of a thousand confederates, in eight-and-forty sail of ships, including the transports of the heavy-armed, and

put under the command of Phrynichus, and Onomacles, and Skironidas, sailed away to Samos, and, thence stretching over to Miletus, encamped themselves before it. The Milesians marched out into the field, to the amount of eight hundred heavy-armed, assisted by the Peloponnesians who came over with Chalcideus, and a body of foreign mercenaries furnished by Tissaphernes. Tissaphernes also assisted them in person with an aid of cavalry; and thus battle was joined against the Athenians and confederates. The Argives, of whom a whole wing was composed, advanced before the rest of the line; and, contemning their enemy too much, as Ionians, and unable to stand their shock, they charged in a disorderly manner, were routed by the Milesians, and no less a number than three hundred of their body were destroyed. But the Athenians beat first the Peloponnesians, and then cleared the field of the Barbarians and all the rabble of the enemy, yet came not at all to an engagement with the Milesians: for the latter, returning towards the city from the chase of the Argives, no sooner perceived that their own side was vanquished than they quitted the field of battle. The Athenians, therefore, as victors, posted themselves under the very walls of Miletus. It is observable that, in this battle, the Ionians had on both sides the better of the Dorians: for the Athenians beat those Peloponnesians who were ranged against them; and the Milesians did the same by the Argives. But now, after erecting a trophy, as the town was seated on an isthmus, the Athenians were preparing to cut it off by a work of circumvallation, concluding that, "if they once could get possession of Miletus, they should easily complete the reduction of the other states."

It was now about the close of evening, and advice was brought them that "five-and-fifty sail of ships from Peloponnesus and Sicily were only not at hand:" for, from Sicily, where Hermocrates the Syracusan strenuously advised to go on with what yet remained in regard to the total demolition of the Athenians, twenty sail of Syracusans and two of Selinuntians came over. The Peloponnesian fleet, which had been fitting out, was now ready for service; and both these were sent out in conjunction, under the orders of Theramenes the Lacedæmonian, who was to carry them to Astyochus the admiral-in-chief. They arrived first at Eleus, an island before Miletus. Being there informed that the Athenians lay

before Miletus, they departed thence ; and, steering first into the Gulf of Iasus, were desirous to pick up information how things went at Miletus. Alcibiades had now rode to Teichussa, in the Milesian ; in which quarter of the gulf the fleets had come to anchor for the night, and received there a full account of the battle. Alcibiades had been present at it, and had given his assistance to the Milesians and Tissaphernes. He therefore earnestly pressed them, " unless they were desirous to see all Ionia lost, and all their great expectations blasted at once, to repair with all possible expedition to the succour of Miletus, and by no means to suffer it to be invested by a circumvallation." In pursuance of this it was resolved, that at the first dawn of day they should stand away to its succour.

But Phrynichus, the Athenian commander, when advised from Lerus of the certain arrival of this united fleet, even though his colleagues declared openly for keeping their ground and hazarding an engagement by sea, protested boldly, that " such a step, for his own part, he could not take : and, were he able to hinder it, that neither they nor any one should force him to it : for, since it would be afterward in their power, when they had got better intelligence of the numbers of the enemy, and made what possible accessions they could to their own, and when they had prepared for action in an ample and leisurely manner,—since it would be still in their power to fight, the dread of a shameful or reproachful imputation should not bend him to risk an engagement against his judgment. It could be no matter of reproach to the Athenians to retire with their fleet when the exigences of time required it ; but, in every respect, it would be highly reproachful to them should they fight and be vanquished. He would not therefore involve the state, not only in reproach, but in the greatest of dangers ; the state which, but just now respiring from the terrible blows it had received, scarce thought it prudent with most ample preparation to choose voluntary hazards, or even, when the last necessity demanded, to strike first at the enemy ; why now, when no necessity compelled, must it be thrown into wilful, spontaneous dangers ?" He exhorted them, therefore, " without loss of time to carry the wounded on board, to re-embark their troops, and, securing what baggage they had brought along with them, to leave behind what booty they had got from the enemy, that their

ships might not be too deeply laden, and make the best of their way to Samos; and from thence, after collecting together what additional force they could, to watch for and seize the seasons of advantage to attack their foes." The advice of Phrynichus, thus given, was prevailing, and accordingly was put in execution. He was regarded, not only on the present but on future occasions, not only for this, but all the subsequent instances of his conduct, as a man of an excellent understanding.

In pursuance of this, the Athenians, so soon as the evening was closed, made the best of their way from Miletus, and left the victory imperfect. And the Argives, without making the least stay, chagrined as they were at their late defeat, departed immediately from Samos to return to Argos.

The Peloponnesians, early the next dawn, weighing from Teichiussa, stood into Miletus. After one day's stay in that harbour, on the next, having augmented their squadron with the Chian ships, which had formerly been chased in company with Chalcideus, they determined to go back again to Teichiussa to fetch off what stores they had landed there. Accordingly, when they were thus returned, Tissaphernes, being come up with his land-army, persuaded them to stand directly against Iasus, in which his enemy Amorges at that instant lay. Thus, falling on Iasus by surprise, the inhabitants of which expected none but an Athenian squadron, they became masters of it. In this action the Syracusans were the persons who gained the greatest honour. Amorges, farther, the bastard son of Pissuthnes, who was a revolter from the king, was taken prisoner by the Peloponnesians. They delivered him up to Tissaphernes, that if he pleased he might send him to the king, in obedience to his orders. Iasus, farther, they put to the sack; and the army made on this occasion a very large booty, for this city had ever been remarkable for its wealth. They gave quarter to the auxiliaries in the service of Amorges: and, without committing the least insult upon them, took them into their own troops, as the bulk of them were Peloponnesians. They delivered up the town into the hands of Tissaphernes, as likewise all the prisoners, whether slaves or freemen, upon covenant to receive from him a Doric stater* for each. This being done, they again repaired to Miletus: and from hence they detached Pædaritus, the son

* 11. 12s. 3½d.

of Leon, whom the Lacedæmonians had sent expressly to be governor of Chios, to march over land to Erythræ, having under his command the auxiliaries who had served under Amorges; and appointed Philippus to command at Miletus. And the summer ended.

The winter now succeeding, after Tissaphernes had garrisoned and provided for the security of Iasus, he repaired to Miletus, and distributed a month's subsistence, in pursuance of his engagements at Lacedæmon, to all the ships, at the rate of an Attic drachma* to each mariner by the day; but for the remainder of time he declared he would only pay at the rate of three oboli,† till he had consulted the king's pleasure; and, in case his master's orders were for it, he said he would make it up a complete drachma. But, as Hermocrates, the Syracusan commander, remonstrated sharply against this usage (for Theramenes, not regarding himself as admiral, since now he was at the head of the fleet merely to carry it up to Astyochus, was very indolent about the article of pay), it was at length compromised, that excepting the five supernumerary ships, the crews of the rest should receive more than three oboli a man: for to the five-and-fifty ships he paid three talents‡ a month; and, for the rest, as many as exceeded that number, pay was to be furnished at the rate of only three oboli a day.

* 7½d.

† Half a drachma.

‡ There is manifestly a fault here; for *τρια*, three, in the original, should be read *τριακοντα*, thirty, talents a month. Mr. Hobbes has taken the pains to compute, and finds that the Peloponnesian ships carried eighteen men apiece. What! only so small a crew as eighteen men for a ship of war with three banks of oars? or, where the complement was perhaps two hundred, did Tissaphernes only pay a tenth part of that number? Xenophon, in the first book of his Greek history, enables us to set all to rights. Lysander is negotiating with Cyrus for an increase of pay. Cyrus insists upon the former agreement made by Tissaphernes, that every ship should receive but thirty minæ a month. The daily pay of each was of course one minæ, or one hundred drachmas: whence it appears, that, at three oboli, or half a drachma a man, the pay of sixty ships, each carrying two hundred men, would be just thirty talents. Thirty talents, therefore, paid to fifty-five ships for a month, were two talents and a half above three oboli a day: and hence it seems pretty clear, that the complement of a Peloponnesian ship of war was two hundred men.

The same winter, the Athenians now lying at Samos had been re-enforced by the arrival of five-and-thirty sail from Athens, under the command of Charminus, and Strombichides, and Euctemon; and they had farther assembled all their ships from Chios, and others. A resolution was therefore taken, after assigning each his particular command by lot, to make up against it with a naval force, and awe Miletus; but to send against Chios both a naval and a land-force; and this accordingly they put in execution: for in fact Strombichides, and Onomacles, and Euctemon, with a squadron of thirty sail and a body of transports, which had on board a detachment from the thousand heavy-armed which came against Miletus, stood away for Chios, as this service had fallen to them by lot; but the rest of the commanders who now remained at Samos, having under them seventy-four ships, were quite lords of the sea, and sailed boldly up to awe Miletus.

Astyochous, who happened at this juncture to be in Chios, selecting hostages as a prevention against treachery, thought proper for the present to desist, when he heard of the arrival of the squadron under Theramenes, and that their engagements with Tissaphernes were much altered for the better. But, taking with him ten sail of Peloponnesians, and ten of Chians, he put to sea; and, having made an attempt upon Pteleum, though without success, he crossed over to Clazomenæ. He there summoned such of the inhabitants as were attached to the Athenians to remove with their effects up to

I have another proof at hand, which will confirm what has already been said, and serve at the same time to ascertain the number of men on board a ship of war. In the sixth book Thucydides says, the Egesteans brought to Athens sixty talents, as a month's pay for sixty ships. He says also, that in the Sicilian expedition the daily pay of the Athenian seamen was raised to a drachma a man. Now a talent a month, reckoning thirty days to the month, is two minæ a day; and two minæ are just two hundred drachmas. Hence, it is plain, the complement of an Athenian ship was two hundred men; and, according to the former computation, that of a Peloponnesian ship was, as might reasonably be expected, exactly the same. This is a farther confirmation that there is a mistake in the printed copies of the original, as was said above; where, instead of three talents, which amount but to 581*l.* 5*s.* sterling, should have been read thirty talents, amounting in English money to 5812*l.* 10*s.*

Daphnus, and leave him in possession of the place ; Tamus, farther, the sub-governor of Ionia, joined with him in the summons. But, when the inhabitants rejected this offer, he made an assault upon the city, which had no fortifications ; yet, miscarrying in the attempt, he put off again to sea in a hard gale of wind, and reached, with those ships that kept up with him, Phoea and Cyme : but the rest of the squadron was by stress of weather forced over to the isles which lie near to Clazomenæ—Marathusa, and Pele, and Drimussa ; and whatever effects belonging to the Clazomenians had by way of security been deposited there, during eight days' continuance, which the stormy weather obliged them to stay, they partly plundered and partly destroyed ; and, having secured their booty on board, got away to Phoea and Cyme, and joined Astyochus. But, while he was yet in this station, ambassadors reached him from the Lesbians, imparting to him their desires to revolt. Him, indeed, they persuaded ; but, when the Corinthians and the rest of the confederates declared their repugnance, because of the former miscarriage, he weighed from thence and made sail for Chios. And now, a storm dispersing his squadron, at last they all came in, though from different quarters to which they had been driven, and rejoined him at Chios.

The next step to this was the junction of Pædaritus ; who, being now at Erythræ, after marching by land from Miletus, passed over in person with the troops under his command to Chios. He had also with him about five hundred soldiers, taken out of the five ships under Chalcideus, who had been left behind with their arms.

But now, the Lesbians notifying again their readiness to revolt, Astyochus, in a conference with Pædaritus and the Chians, "maintained the necessity of going thither with a squadron to support the revolt of Lesbos ; since, in consequence of it, they must either enlarge the number of their confederates, or, even though miscarrying in the design, must hurt the Athenians." But they were deaf to this remonstrance ; and Pædaritus positively declared that he should not be attended by the ships of Chios. Upon this, taking with him five sail of Corinthians, a sixth ship belonging to Megara, and one more of Hermione, and all the Laconian which he himself brought thither, he stood away from thence to his station at Miletus, uttering grievous threats against the Chians,

that, "how low soever they might be reduced, they should never receive any succour from him." Accordingly, touching first at Corycus of Erythræ, he moored there for the night. The Athenians, who, from Samos, with a considerable strength, were now bound against Chios, were lying at the same instant of time on the other side of the cape, but so stationed that neither party knew of the nearness of the other. At this juncture, a letter being delivered from Pædaritus, that "a party of Erythræans, who had been prisoners at Samos and released from thence, were coming to Erythræ to betray that place," Astyochus put out again immediately for Erythræ; and thus narrowly, on this occasion, did he escape falling into the hands of the Athenians. Pædaritus, farther, had made the passage upon this affair; and both having joined in making all necessary inquiries about those who were accused of this piece of treachery, when they found the whole to have been a plot of the prisoners at Samos merely to recover their liberty, they pronounced them innocent, and so departed, the latter to Chios; but the other, in pursuance of his first designation, made the best of his way to Miletus.

In the meantime the armament of the Athenians, having sailed round from Corycus to Arginum, fell in with three long vessels of the Chians, and no sooner had descried than they gave them chase. And now a violent storm arose, and the vessels of the Chians with great difficulty escaped into harbour: but, of the Athenian squadron, three, which had most briskly followed the chase, were disabled and driven ashore at the city of the Chians; the crews of them were partly made prisoners, and partly put to the sword. The rest of the fleet got into a safe harbour, which is known by the name of Phœnicus, under the Mimas. From hence they afterward took their course to Lesbos, and got all in readiness to raise fortifications.

From Peloponnesus, the same winter, Hippocrates the Lacedæmonian, putting out to sea with ten sail of Thurians commanded by Doricus, the son of Diagoras, and two colleagues, with one ship of Laconia and one of Syracuse, arrived at Cnidus. This place was now in revolt from Tissaphernes. Those of Miletus were no sooner advised of the arrival of this squadron, than they sent them orders, with one moiety of their ships to keep guard upon Cnidus, and with the other to post themselves at the Triopium, in order

to take under their convoy the trading-vessels which were in their course from Egypt. The Triopium is a point in the territory of Cnidus, jutting out into the sea, and a temple of Apollo. But the Athenians, informed of their designs, and standing away from Samos, took six of the ships which were stationed at the Triopium: the crews, indeed, quitted their ships, and reached the shore. This being done, the victors sailed directly to Cnidus; and, making an assault upon that city, which was quite unfortified, had very nearly taken it. On the next day they renewed the assault: yet, as the inhabitants had taken care to make it more secure by favour of the night, and the men, escaped from the vessels taken at Triopium, had thrown themselves into the place, they did less damage than on the preceding day. After scouring and laying waste the territory of Cnidus, they sailed back to Samos.

About the same time, Aetychus having rejoined the fleet at Miletus, the Peloponnesians were still abounding in all the needful expedients of war. Good pay was regularly advanced them, and the soldiers had store of money yet remaining of the rich booty they made at Iasus. The Milesians, farther, sustained with alacrity the burden of the war. It was, however, the opinion of the Peloponnesians, that the first treaty made with Tissaphernes by Chalcideus was in some articles defective and less advantageous to themselves. Upon this they drew up and ratified a second in the presence of Theramenes. The articles of it are these:—

“Stipulated, by the Lacedæmonians and confederates, with King Darius and the sons of the king and Tissaphernes, that peace and amity subsist on the following conditions:—

“Whatever province or city soever belongs to King Darius, or did belong to his father or ancestors, against them in a hostile manner not to march, and no injury to do, are bound both Lacedæmonians and confederates of the Lacedæmonians. Not to exact tribute from any such places, are bound both Lacedæmonians and confederates of the Lacedæmonians. Neither shall King Darius, nor any subject of the king, march in a hostile manner against, nor do any injury to, the Lacedæmonians and confederates.

“But, in case the Lacedæmonians or confederates need any assistance whatever from the king, or the king from the Lacedæmonians and confederates, whatever either party can convince the other to be right, let that be done.

"Be the war against the Athenians and confederates carried on by both parties in strict conjunction: and, in case an accommodation be taken in hand, be it settled by both parties acting in conjunction.

"But, whatever army be brought into the territories of the king at the request and summons of the king, the king to defray the expense.

"And, if any of the states comprehended in this league with the king invade the territories of the king, the others to oppose and act with all their power in defence of the king.

"And, if any province belonging to the king, or subject to his dominion, invade the territory of the Lacedæmonians or confederates, the king to oppose, and with all his power to defend the party invaded."

When the finishing band was put to this treaty, Theramenes, after delivering up the fleet to Astyochus, puts to sea in a fly-boat, and entirely disappears.

But the Athenians from Lesbos, having now made their passage and landed their forces in Chios, and being masters of the coast and sea, fortified Delphinium; a place remarkably strong by nature towards the land, abounding, farther, with harbours, and seated at no considerable distance from the city of the Chians. And now the Chians, dispirited by the many defeats they had already received, and, what is worse, far from being actuated by general unanimity (but, on the contrary, Tydeus the Ionian and his adherents having been lately put to death by Pædaritus for atticising, and the rest of the citizens obliged by necessity to submit to the few, each individual among them suspecting his neighbour), the Chians now remained quite inactive. Thus, for the reasons above mentioned, they neither looked upon themselves, nor the auxiliaries under Pædaritus, as a match for the enemy. Yet, as their last resource, they sent to Miletus, requesting Astyochus to come over to their succour. But, as he was deaf to their entreaties, Pædaritus sent a letter to Lacedæmon about him, which accused him of injustice. And to this situation were brought the Athenian affairs at Chios.

Their squadron also at Samos made several visits to the squadron of the enemy at Miletus; but, as the latter refused to come out to engage them, they returned again to Samos, without committing any hostilities.

From Peloponnesus, in the same winter, twenty-seven sail

of ships, equipped by the Lacedæmonians for Pharnabazus, at the instance of his agents, Calligitus the Megarean and Timagoras the Cyzicene, put out to sea, and made over to Ionia, about the solstice. Antisthenes the Spartan was on board as admiral. With him the Lacedæmonians sent also eleven Spartans, to be a council to Astyochus; in the number of whom was Lichas, the son of Arcesilaus. To these an order was given, that, "when arrived at Miletus, they should in concert act in all respects as might be best for the service; and this squadron, or one equal in strength, or larger or smaller, at their own discretion, should proceed to Hellespont for the service of Pharnabazus, and be sent away under the command of Clearchus the son of Ramphias, who accompanied them in the voyage; and, in case it was judged expedient by the council of eleven, to dismiss Astyochus from the chief command, and substitute Antisthenes." On account of the letters of Pædaritus, they began to suspect the former. This squadron, therefore, standing out to sea from Melea, arrived first at Melos; and, falling in with ten sail of Athenians, they took and burnt three of them, which their crews had abandoned: but, apprehensive that those Athenian ships which had escaped might advertise the fleet at Samos of their approach, as was actually the case, they stretched away for Crete; and, for better security, keeping a good look-out, and taking more time, they made land first at Caunus of Asia. From thence, as being now beyond the reach of danger, they despatched a messenger to the fleet at Miletus, to attend and bring them up.

But, about the same juncture of time, the Chians and Pædaritus, not bearing to acquiesce under the dilatory answers of Astyochus, pressed him, by repeated messages, "to come over with the whole of his force, and relieve them from the present blockade; and by no means to look indolently about him, while the most important of the confederate states in Ionia was shut up by sea, and by land exposed to rapines:" for the domestics of the Chians, being many in number, nay, the largest that any one community except the Lacedæmonians kept, and accustomed, because of their multitude, to be punished with extraordinary severity for their misdemeanors, no sooner judged that the Athenian forces, by throwing up works, had gained a sure footing in the island, than large numbers of them at once deserted to the enemy, and were

afterward the persons who, as perfectly well acquainted with the country, committed the heaviest depredations. The Chians therefore urged that "the last necessity called upon him, while yet there was hope or a possibility of success remaining (the works round Delphinium yet incomplete, and a larger circle even still to be taken in and fortified for the security of the camp and the fleet), to undertake their relief." Upon this Astyochus, who, to verify his threats, had never before thought seriously about it, being now convinced that the whole confederate body was bent on their preservation, determined in person to go to their succour.

But, just at this crisis, advice is brought him from Caunus that "twenty-seven sail of ships and the assistant council of Lacedæmonians are arrived." Concluding, upon this, that every other point ought to be postponed to this large reinforcement, that his junction with it might be effected in order to invest them with the sovereignty of the sea, and that the Lacedæmonians who came to inspect his own conduct might securely finish their voyage; throwing up immediately all concern for Chios, he sailed away for Caunus. But, having landed in his passage at Cos Meropidis, the inhabitants of which had refuged themselves in the mountains, he rifled the city, which was quite unfortified, and had lately been tumbled into ruins by an earthquake, the greatest that had been felt there in the memory of us now living. By excursions also, through all the country, he made prize of all he found, excepting seamen; for such he dismissed unhurt.

From Cos advancing by night to Cnidus, he is dissuaded by the Cnidians from landing his men; but, on the contrary, without loss of time to get out to sea, and make head against twenty sail of Athenians, which Charminus, one of the commanders from Samos, had under his orders, and with them was watching the approach of the twenty-seven sail coming up from Peloponnesus, which Astyochus was now going to join: for they at Samos had received from Miletus advice of their coming, and Charminus was appointed to cruise for them about Cyme, and Chalce, and Rhodes, and the coast of Lycia; and by this time he knew, for a certainty, that they were lying at Caunus.

Astyochus, therefore, without loss of time, stood away for Cyme, with a view to surprise the ships of the enemy at sea before they could get any advice of his approach. A heavy

rain and thick cloudy weather occasioned the dispersion of his vessels in the dark, and sadly disordered him.

When morning broke, the fleet being widely separated and the left wing driven already within the view of the Athenians, the remainder yet driving in confusion about the island, Charminus and the Athenians launched out against them with all possible expedition, though with fewer than twenty sail, imagining this to be the squadron from Caunus whose approach they were to observe; and proceeding instantly to action, they sunk three and disabled others. They had by far the better in the action, till the numerous remainder of hostile ships appeared, to their great consternation, and encompassed them round on all sides. Then, taking to open flight, they lost six of their ships; but with the remainder reached in safety the Isle of Teglussa, and from thence proceeded to Halicarnassus.

This being done, the Peloponnesians, putting back to Caius, and the twenty-seven sail from Caunus completing here their junction with them, they put out again to sea in one body; and, after erecting a trophy at Cyme, returned again to their anchorings at Cnidus.

The Athenians, on the other hand, had no sooner been informed of the engagements of the squadrons, than with the whole of their fleet they put out from Samos, and made the best of their way to Cyme. And yet against the fleet at Cnidus they made no sallies, as neither did the enemy against them; but, after taking up the tackling of the vessels left at Cyme, and making an assault upon Lorima on the continent, they returned to Samos.

The whole united fleet of the Peloponnesians, now lying at Cnidus, was busy in refitting completely for service; and the Lacedæmonian council of eleven had a conference with Tissaphernes, who was now come to them, in which they notified to him their dislike of some things in past transactions; and, in regard to the future operations of war, debated in what manner they might be carried on for their joint benefit and convenience. But Lichas was the person who scrutinized most closely into the past, and expressed a dissatisfaction with both treaties; affirming that "even the last, settled by Theramenes, was far from being good; but that terrible it would be, should the king now claim, upon that pretext, the possession of that tract of country of which either

he or his ancestors had formerly been masters: for thus he might be enabled once more to enslave all the islands, and Thessaly, and Locris, quite as far as Bœotia; while the Lacedæmonians, instead of freeing, would be obliged to impose the Median subjection on the Grecians. He insisted, therefore, that a better treaty should be made, or at least the former should be instantly disannulled; for on terms like the present they would scorn to take pay from the king." Nettled at this, Tissaphernes went from them in a fit of choler, without bringing affairs to any kind of settlement.

The scheme now next in agitation was a voyage to Rhodes, which the most powerful persons there had by embassies solicited them to undertake. They were full of hopes to bring into their subjection an island by no means inconsiderable either for number of mariners or soldiers; and at the same time judged themselves able, by their present alliances, to defray the expense of their fleet without requesting pay from Tissaphernes. Accordingly, this winter, with great despatch, they put to sea from Cnidus; and arriving first at Camirus, on the Rhodian coast, with ninety-four ships, they struck a consternation into the multitude, who knew nothing of past transactions, and were the sooner tempted to abandon their dwellings as the city was not guarded by the least fortification. The Lacedæmonians, afterward, summoning to a conference these, and the Rhodians also from two other cities, Lindus and Ielysus, persuaded them to revolt from the Athenians. Rhodes accordingly went over to the Peloponnesians.

At the same juncture of time, the Athenians, who had discovered their design, put out with their fleet from Samos, earnestly bent on preventing the scheme. They were seen indeed out at sea by the enemy, but made their appearance a little too late. For the present, therefore, they put back to Chalce, and from thence to Samos; and afterward, making frequent trips from Chalce, and Cos, and Samos, they warred against Rhodes.

The Peloponnesians exacted from the Rhodians a sum amounting to about two-and-thirty talents;* and having laid their ships aground, continued with them eighty days without subjecting them to any farther imposition.

During this interval of time, nay, extended farther back,

* 6,200*l.* sterling.

before they undertook this enterprise against Rhodes, the following transaction happened :—

Alcibiades, after the death of Chalcideus and the battle of Miletus, falling under the suspicion of the Peloponnesians, and through them a letter having been sent from Lacedæmon to Astyochus to put him to death, for he was an enemy to Agis, and his treachery in other respects was become notorious, Alcibiades, I say, fearful of his life, withdrew himself first to Tissaphernes, and, in the next place, did all in his power to undermine what interest the Peloponnesians had in him. Grown at length his dictator in every affair, he abridged their pay; that, instead of an Attic drachma,* three oboli only should be given them, and that too with no punctuality. He advised Tissaphernes to remonstrate with them, that “the Athenians, who through a long tract of time had gained experience in naval affairs, paid only three oboli to their seamen; not so much through a principle of frugality, as to prevent their seamen from growing insolent through too much plenty; some of them would otherwise render their bodies less fit for fatigue, by having wherewithal to purchase those pleasures by which weakness is occasioned; and others would desert, and leave their arrears to balance their desertion.” He instructed him farther, how, by seasonable gratuities to the commanders of ships and generals of the states, he might persuade them all to acquiesce in his proceedings, excepting the Syracusans; for, among these, Hermocrates alone made loud remonstrances in behalf of the whole alliance. Nay, Alcibiades himself took upon him to give the denial to such states as petitioned for money; making answer himself, instead of Tissaphernes, that, for instance, “the Chians were void of all shame: who, though the most wealthy of the Grecians, and hitherto preserved by the auxiliary efforts of others, yet are ever requiring strangers to expose their lives and fortunes to keep them free.” As for other states, he maintained “they acted basely, if, when subjected to vast expenses before they revolted from the Athenians, they refused to lay out as much, nay, a great deal more, in their own defence.” He was also dexterous at proving that “Tissaphernes, since now he supported the war at his own private expense, was in the right to be frugal; but assuredly, when

* Six oboli, or 7½d. sterling.

returns were made him from the king, he would make up the present abatement of pay, and do strict justice to every single state." He farther suggested to Tissaphernes, that "he should not be too much in a hurry to bring the war to a conclusion; or entertain the wish, either by bringing up the Phœnician fleet which he had provided, or by taking into pay a larger number of Grecians, to turn the superiority at land and sea in favour of the Lacedæmonians. He ought rather to leave both parties pretty nearly balanced in strength; and so enable the king, when one of them became troublesome, to let the other party loose against them: whereas, should the dominion in both elements be given exclusively to either, he would then be distressed for want of sufficient power to pull down the triumphant state; unless at a prodigious expense, and through infinity of danger to himself, he should choose to enter the list in person and war them down. The risks incurred by the other method were far more eligible, because attended with a smaller proportion of expense; and his master might lie by with perfect security, while he was wearing out the Grecians by their own reciprocal embroilments." He moreover hinted to him, that "the Athenians were the best suited of the two to share the dominion with him; because they were less desirous of power on the continent, and by their peculiar turn of politics and military conduct were better adapted for this purpose. They would be glad, at the same time, to subdue the maritime parts to their own yoke, and to that of the king all Grecians whatever who live upon the continent. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, came thither with the sole passion to set them free; nor in common prudence could it be judged likely, that men, who were this moment employed to deliver Grecians from the yoke of Grecians, would in that case be stopped by any thing but a superior force from delivering them also from the yoke of Barbarians." He advised him, therefore, "in the first place, to wear out the strength of both; and, after clipping as much as possible the wings of the Athenians, then instantly to drive the Peloponnesians from off his coast."

The larger part of this advice Tissaphernes determined to follow, so far at least as may be gathered from his actions; for, satisfied by this means with Alcibiades, as a person who on these points gave him sound advice, and resigning himself up to his guidance, he paid but sorrily their subsistence to the

Peloponnesians, and would not suffer them to engage at sea. By the constant pretext that the Phœnician fleet was coming up, and then with so great a superiority of strength the war might be brought to a clear decision, he ruined all operations of war; he suffered the vigour of their fleet, which in fact was strong and mighty, insensibly to moulder away, and disconcerted them so openly in other respects, that his motives in doing it were no longer to be concealed.

Such was the advice which Alcibiades gave to Tissaphernes and the king, when he had opportunities, and which he really thought to be the best in policy; but at the same time he had deep in his heart and in his study his own return to his country; assured within himself, that, if he preserved it from a total destruction, he might find a time to compass his own restoration: and nothing, he judged, could expedite his purpose more, than if it appeared to the world that Tissaphernes was his friend: which also was verified by fact.

For, when the Athenian troops at Samos perceived that he had so strong an interest with Tissaphernes, and Alcibiades had already paved the way by sending intimations beforehand to the men of influence and authority among them, how desirous he was "they should patronise his return with the consent of the persons of the greatest honour and worth in their company; since only under an oligarchy, but not under an iniquitous cabal, or that democracy which had formerly banished him, could he even desire it; and, thus recalled, he would come and join his cares with theirs for the public welfare, and procure them farther the friendship of Tissaphernes;" when, more than this, the officers of those Athenians at Samos, and the men of highest authority among them, were voluntarily inclined to put an end to the democracy, the method of bringing it about began to be agitated first in the army, and from thence soon made a stir in Athens itself.

Some persons passed over from Samos to concert matters with Alcibiades; who gave them room to hope that "he could render first Tissaphernes, and in the next place the king, their friend, if they would dissolve the democracy; since on this sole condition could the king be assured of their sincerity." This contributed to enhance their sanguine expectations, that on this their affairs might take a new turn, in which men of first rank in the community, who in the present management were most depressed, might recover the

administration, and gain the ascendant over their enemies. Returning, therefore, to Samos, they took in the most proper persons there to be assistants to the scheme ; and to the many made public declarations, that "the king might be made their friend, and supply them with money, were Alcibiades recalled, and the democracy suspended." The effect of these declarations on the many was this, that, though for the present they were chagrined at the scheme in agitation, yet, soothed by the flattering hope of the royal subsidies, they refrained from all manner of tumult.

But the set which was caballing in favour of an oligarchy, after such open declarations to the multitude, reconsidered the promises of Alcibiades among themselves, and with a larger number of their associates. The scheme was judged by all the rest to be feasible and sure ; but Phrynichus, who was yet in the command, declared a total dislike of it. It appeared to him (which was really the case) that "Alcibiades cared as little for an oligarchical as a democratical government ; and that no other thought lay seriously at his heart than to throw the present government into some state of confusion, which his friends might so far improve as to carry his recallment. Of consequence, the first point themselves should guard against was, not to be thrown into seditions for the benefit of the king. It was not probable (he plainly told them), when the Peloponnesians had gained a power by sea equal to their own, and were masters of cities not the most inconsiderable amid the king's dominions, that the latter should turn the balance in favour of the Athenians, in whom he had no confidence at all, while he might firmly depend upon the friendship of the Peloponnesians, who had never done him any harm. As for confederate states, to whom they were to give a certain pledge of future oligarchy by setting up that government among themselves, he told them he was well assured that on that account neither such as had revolted would the sooner return, nor such as were at present their own would the longer continue in their duty ; since the point on which their wishes turned was, not to be enslaved by an oligarchy rather than a democracy, but to recover their liberty, indifferent equally to either form. As for those of their fellow-citizens to whom was given the appellation of worthy and good, even they would perplex the train of government as much as the people, when, by cajoling that people, and au-

thoritatively leading them into a series of bad measures, they would principally regard their own private emoluments: and, should they be subjected to the caprice of such, to die by violence and without a trial must be the general fate; whereas the people was a sure resource in seasons of extremity, and ever tempered the fury of the great. He was well convinced, the states, enlightened by a long tract of experience, judged of their government in the same light. Upon the whole, therefore, the negotiations of Alcibiades, and all at present upon the carpet, could in nowise be approved by him."

The party, however, associated together in this design, abiding by their former determinations, resolved to proceed to their execution, and were preparing to send Pisander and others by way of deputation to Athens, to set on foot the negotiations concerning the return of Alcibiades, the dissolution of the popular government there, and the gaining over Tissaphernes to the Athenian friendship.

Phrynichus, now convinced that the return of Alcibiades would be brought upon the carpet, and the Athenians assuredly grant it; apprehensive, farther, that, from the opposition he had given it at their consultations, he should be exposed to his resentments, as one who had endeavoured to stop it, had recourse to the following project: he sent to Astyochus, admiral-in-chief of the Lacedæmonians, who yet continued in the station of Miletus, a secret hint, by letter, that "Alcibiades is ruining their affairs, by endeavouring to gain over Tissaphernes to the Athenians;" and, after giving him a clear explanation of other matters, he pleaded "the candour of Astyochus in his own excuse, if he desired in this manner to ruin his mortal foe, though with some prejudice to the welfare of his country." But Astyochus had given up all thoughts of putting Alcibiades to death, especially as now he never came within his reach; yet, on this occasion, making a visit to him and Tissaphernes at Magnesia, he communicated to them the advices sent him from Samos, and became himself an informer. He was accused by report, not only on this but many other occasions, to have made court to Tissaphernes for his own private lucre; and, for the same reason, when the pay was not fully rendered before, he suffered it much more pliantly than in duty he ought to have done. Alcibiades sent away immediate notice to the managing party at Samos, that the treachery of Phrynichus was detected by his own letter,

and insisted upon it that he be put to death. Phrynichus, terribly alarmed, and pushed to the very brink of destruction by such a discovery, sent again to Astyochus, blaming his indiscretion on a former occasion in not keeping his secret, and assuring him that "now he was ready to deliver up to his fury the whole force of the Athenians at Samos" (distinctly reciting to him the particulars by which, as Samos was unfortified, the whole scheme might be accomplished), and that "undoubtedly he ought not to be censured if, when his unrelenting foes had reduced him to such extremity of danger, he chose to do this, or even more than this, rather than be destroyed by their rancour." But this proposal also Astyochus communicated to Alcibiades.

Phrynichus, perceiving in time that Astyochus betrayed him, and that notice each moment was only not arrived from Alcibiades about the contents of his last, anticipated the discovery, and became himself informer to the army, that "the enemy had resolved, as Samos was unfortified, and the whole of their fleet not securely stationed within the harbour, to endeavour a surprise: of this he had gained the most certain informations; and therefore Samos ought necessarily to be put into a posture of defence with the utmost expedition, and proper guards in every respect be appointed." He himself commanded, and consequently was empowered to see this put in execution. All hands were instantly at work on the fortification; and Samos, though otherwise intended soon to be, was by this piece of artifice immediately secured: and, no long time after, came letters from Alcibiades, importing that "the army was betrayed by Phrynichus, and in pursuance of it the enemy was coming to surprise them." Their opinion of the good faith of Alcibiades was not in the least established by this: it was argued that, as he was privy to the plans of the enemy, from a principle of enmity he had fastened upon Phrynichus the charge of being their accomplice. By the last notification, therefore, he was so far from hurting him, that he only confirmed his evidence.

Yet, subsequent to this, Alcibiades continued to make use of all his address and persuasion with Tissaphernes to gain him over to the Athenians, who in fact stood most in terror of the Peloponnesians, because they had a larger fleet at hand than the Athenians; but was inwardly inclined, were it any how feasible, to comply with his suggestions; especially as,

ever since the jar at Cnidus about the treaty of Theramenes, he had been exasperated against the Peloponnesians; for that jar had already happened at the time of their expedition to Rhodes; and the suggestion of Alcibiades, formerly mentioned, that "the views of the Lacedæmonians were to set the cities free," was yet more verified by the behaviour of Lichas, who had affirmed, that "it was an article never to be suffered in treaty, that the king should have those cities of which either himself or his ancestors had at any time been possessed." And in truth Alcibiades, as one who had important concerns at stake, continued with much zeal and assiduity to ingratiate himself with Tissaphernes.

The Athenian deputies, with Pisander at their head, who were sent from Samos, had no sooner reached Athens than they obtained an audience from the people; where, after touching in a summary manner upon many other advantages, they expatiated chiefly on this, that "by recalling Alcibiades, and making an alteration in the democratical form of government, they might gain the friendship of the king and a superiority over the Peloponnesians." Large was the number of those who would not hear the proposal against the democracy. The enemies, farther, of Alcibiades were loud in their clamours, that "shameful it would be if so enormous a transgressor of the laws were recalled; one, to whose crimes, in point of the mysteries, the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces* had borne solemn attestation, the consequence of which was his exile; nay, had farther denounced a curse upon those who should restore him." Pisander, interposing to put a stop to this violent opposition and these tragical outcries, addressed himself apart to each of these opponents, and asked them singly, "whether any hope they had left of saving their coun-

* These were sacerdotal families at Athens, descended from Eumolpus and Ceryx. The former of them instituted the Eleusinian mysteries; and it was the grand privilege of his descendants to preside at and regulate those sacred rites. Who Ceryx was, and what the particular privileges of his descendants, any farther than that (according to Suidas) they were "holy and venerable," is not agreed. All of them were commanded to pronounce the solemn curse on Alcibiades when he was outlawed. Yet one priestess (as Plutarch relates), Theano, the daughter of Menon, refused to obey; alleging, that "it was her duty to bless, and not to curse."

try, now that the Peloponnesians had as many ships upon the sea as they had themselves, but a larger number of confederate states, besides supplies of money from the king and Tissaphernes, while themselves were quite exhausted, unless somebody could persuade the king to declare in their favour?" And when those to whom the demand was put replied in the negative, he proceeded to make them this plain declaration: "And yet this turn in your favour can never take place, unless we temper our form of government with greater moderation, and intrust the administration in the hands of the few, that the king may have room to place confidence in us: for we are at present to consult about the very being of the state, and not to litigate the forms of its administration. The sequel may again enable us to return to the primitive form, if we find it expedient; and we shall recover Alcibiades, the only man alive who is able to accomplish the point."

The people, in fact, upon the first mention of an oligarchy, were stung to the heart: yet afterward, convinced by Pisander that no other resource was left, dispirited by fear, and encouraged at the same time by a distant hope that another change might in the sequel be brought about, they yielded up the point to the necessity of the state. Accordingly they passed a decree, that "Pisander and the ten joined with him in the deputation should pass the sea, and negotiate the affair with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades, in the method judged by them most conducive to the public service." At the same time, as Pisander had preferred a charge of maladministration against Phrynichus, they discharged him and his colleague Skirondas from their commands, and sent away Diomedon and Leon to take upon them the command of the fleet. The article with which Pisander charged Phrynichus was the betraying of Iasus and Amorges. The truth is, he thought him by no means a proper person to be let into a share of their intrigues with Alcibiades.

And thus Pisander, after visiting in order all the several juntas of the accomplices, already formed in the city with the view to thrust themselves into the seats of judicature and the great offices of state; and exhorting them severally to act with unanimity, and by general concurrence to labour the demolition of the popular government; and, after adjusting all previous measures to guard best against dilatory proceedings, repassed the sea to Tissaphernes, accompanied by his ten associates in the deputation.

In the same winter, Leen and Diomedon, being arrived at their post, at the head of the Athenian fleet, made an expedition against Rhodes; and there they found the ships of the Peloponnesians hauled ashore. They made a descent upon the coast; and, after defeating in battle such of the Rhodians as made head against them, they stood away for Chalce, and for the future carried on the war more from thence than from Cos; for in that station they were better enabled to watch the motions of the Peloponnesian fleet.

But at Rhodes arrived Xenophantidas, a Lacedæmonian, despatched by Pædaritus from Chios, with advice that "the works of the Athenians were almost perfected; and unless, with the whole of their shipping, they come over to relieve them, all is lost at Chios." A resolution accordingly was taken to endeavour their relief; but, in the meantime, Pædaritus, at the head of his body of auxiliaries and the Chians, with all the force he could assemble together, sallied out against the rampart which the Athenians had raised around their ships, demolished a part of it, and made himself master of those vessels which were hauled ashore. The Athenians ran from all quarters to their defence; and, having first engaged and put to flight the Chians, the rest of the forces under Pædaritus were also defeated. Pædaritus was killed, as were numbers also of the Chians, and many arms were taken: and, after this, the Chians were blocked up by sea and land more closely than ever, and a terrible famine raged among them.

The Athenian deputation, headed by Pisander, having reached Tissaphernes, entered into conference about terms of accommodation. Alcibiades now, as the conduct of Tissaphernes was still dubious and wavering, since he stood in great awe of the Peloponnesians, and adhered to that rule of policy he had learned from him, "to war both sides out," Alcibiades now had recourse to another piece of refinement, causing Tissaphernes to insist upon such exorbitant terms that no accommodations could ensue. Tissaphernes, truly, seems to me to have proceeded in this manner from his own voluntary motives, because fear was predominant in him; but in Alcibiades it was purely art; since, as he found the other would not agree upon any terms whatever, he affected to strike the conceit into the Athenians that it really was in his power to manage him at pleasure, and that he was already

wrought to their purpose and willing to come to terms, whereas the Athenians would not offer enough: for Alcibiades himself made such extravagant demands (since, though Tissaphernes assisted at the conference, the other managed it), that, though the Athenians had yielded to the far greater part, yet the breaking off the treaty would be thrown at their doors. It was insisted, besides other demands, that "all Ionia should be given up," and, what is more, "all the islands on the Ionian coast;" and other points. The Athenians seeming to acquiesce in these, at length, upon the third meeting, lest the smallness of his own influence should be plainly detected, he demanded leave "for the king to build a fleet, and to sail along the Athenian coasts, wherever, and with whatever force he pleased." Here all accommodation was over: the Athenians, concluding these points insuperable, and that they were abused by Alcibiades, broke off in indignation and returned to Samos.

In the same winter, immediately after breaking off the conference, Tissaphernes repaired to Caunus, with intention to bring the Peloponnesians again to Miletus, and to form other compacts with them, the best he should be able, to supply them farther with pay, and by all means to avoid an open rupture. He was in fact apprehensive, that, should so large a fleet be deprived of subsistence, or, necessitated to engage with the Athenians, should suffer a defeat, or should the mariners quit their vessels, the Athenians then would carry their point without thanks to him: but his greatest fear was this, lest for the sake of subsistence they should ravage the continent. Upon all these considerations, and the prudential motives arising from each, co-operating with his principal maxim of balancing the Grecians against one another, he sent for the Peloponnesians, paid them their arrears of subsistence, and made the following treaty, the third of the kind, with them:—

"In the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius, Alexippidas presiding in the college of ephors at Lacedæmon, articles are signed, in the plain of Mæander, between the Lacedæmonians and confederates on one side, and Tissaphernes, Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnacus, on the other, concerning the affairs of the king and those of the Lacedæmonians and confederates.

"The whole of the king's dominions situate in Asia be-

long to the king ; and all his own dominions let the king govern as to him seems meet.

“ The Lacedæmonians and confederates are not to enter the dominions of the king to commit any act of hostility whatever ; nor he those of the contracting parties for any act of hostility whatever.

“ And in case any of the Lacedæmonians or confederates enter in a hostile manner the dominions of the king, the Lacedæmonians and confederates are bound to restrain them : and, in case any subjects of the king act in a hostile manner against the Lacedæmonians and confederates, be the king also bound to restrain them.

“ Tissaphernes shall pay subsistence to the ships now upon the station, according to the rates agreed on, till the king's fleet comes up.

“ But the Lacedæmonians and confederates, so soon as the king's fleet shall be come up, shall have it in their own option to maintain, if they please, their own fleet ; or, in case they choose to take subsistence from Tissaphernes, he is bound to supply them. Yet the Lacedæmonians and confederates, at the expiration of the war, shall repay to Tissaphernes whatever sums they may thus receive from him.

“ When the king's fleet comes up, let the ships of the Lacedæmonians, and those of the confederates, and those of the king, carry on the war in concert, by the joint counsels of Tissaphernes and of the Lacedæmonians and confederates.

“ And, whenever a peace with the Athenians is thought advisable, it shall be concluded by the joint consent of both parties.”

The treaty was made and ratified in these terms : and, after this, Tissaphernes employed himself with diligence to bring up the Phœnician fleet, as has been mentioned, and duly to perform all the branches whatever of his engagements. At least he was willing to convince the Peloponnesians, by the measures he took, that he was heartily in earnest.

In the close of this winter the Bœotians got possession of Oropus by treachery, though an Athenian garrison was in it. The business was effectuated by the management of a party of Eretrians, and those Oropians who were plotting the revolt of Eubœa : for, as this town was situated over against Eretria, it was impossible but, while in Athenian hands, it must terribly annoy both Eretria and the rest of Eubœa.

Having therefore thus gained Oropus, the Eretrians repaired to Rhodes, inviting the Peloponnesians to come over to Eubœa ; but their inclinations were rather to relieve Chios, now sadly distressed. Putting therefore from Rhodes with the whole of their fleet, they stood away to sea ; and having gained the height of Triopium, they descried the Athenian squadron out at sea in a course from Chalce ; yet, neither making any motion to bear down upon the other, one fleet pursued their course to Samos, the other put into Miletus. They were now convinced that, without fighting at sea, they could not possibly relieve Chios.

Here this winter ended : and the twentieth year of this war expired, the history of which Thucydides has compiled.

YEAR XXI.*

In the ensuing summer, upon the first commencement of the spring, Dercylidas, a Spartan, at the head of an army not considerable for numbers, was sent over land to Hellespont to effectuate the revolt of Abydos : they are a colony of the Milesians. The Chians also, while Astyochus was perplexed about the method of relieving them, were necessitated, by the intolerable closeness of the blockade, to hazard an engagement at sea. It happened, while Astyochus was yet in Rhodes, that Leon, a Spartan, who came over with Antisthenes, though merely as a passenger, had arrived at Chios from Miletus, to act as governor after the death of Pædarius, with twelve sail of shipping draughted from the squadron stationed at Miletus ; of these, five were Thurian, four Syracusan, one belonged to Anæa, another was Milesian, and one was Leon's own. Upon this, the Chians having sallied out with all their force, and carried a strong post from the enemy, and at the same time their fleet, consisting of six-and-thirty sail, launching forth against the thirty-two Athenians, an engagement followed ; and, after a battle hotly maintained on both sides, the Chians and allies, who had not the worst of the dispute, sheered off again into harbour ; for by this time it began to grow dark.

Instantly upon this, Dercylidas having completed his march from Miletus, Abydos in Hellespont revolted to Dercylidas and Pharnabazus ; and two days after Lampsacus did the same.

* Before Christ 411.

But intelligence of this having reached Strombichides at Chios, and he, with four-and-twenty sail of Athenians, including the transports which carried the heavy-armed, stretching thither with all possible expedition, the Lampsacenes sallied out to repulse him. He defeated them in battle; and, having at a shout made himself master of Lampsacus, which was quite unfortified, he gave up all the effects and slaves for pillage to his men; and, after re-establishing such as were free in their old habitations, proceeded against Abydos: but, finding them deaf to all schemes of accommodation, and himself unable to reduce them by force, crossing over to the spot opposite to Abydos, he garrisoned Sestus, a city in the Chersonesus, which had formerly belonged to the Medes, and put it in a condition to guard the Hellespont.

During this interval of time the Chians had very much enlarged their room at sea; and those stationed at Miletus, and even Astyochus, upon receiving the particulars of the late engagement, and advice that Strombichides was drawn off with so many ships, began to be high in spirits. Astyochus, accordingly, arriving at Chios with only two ships, carried off along with him what shipping was there, and with the whole force was now at sea, in order to make an attempt upon Samos. But when the enemy there, because mutually embroiled in jealousies, came not out against him, he returned again to the station of Miletus; for, about this time, or rather before, the democracy was overturned at Athens.

The deputation, at the head of which was Pisander, were no sooner returned to Samos from Tissaphernes, than they found their schemes had gained a stronger footing in the army, and that the Samians had been encouraging the men of power among the Athenians to join their efforts with them for the erection of an oligarchy, though a party was very busy in opposing them, with a view to quash the projected alteration. The Athenians, farther, at Samos, had in private conferences come to a resolution, "to think no longer of Alcibiades, since he showed himself so averse to join them, and in fact was by no means a proper person to have a share in an oligarchical administration; but, merely from a principle of self-preservation, as now they were environed with dangers, they should take all possible care that the project should not drop in the execution. That, farther, they should prosecute the war with vigour, and contribute largely towards it from their

own private purses, and answer every other exigence of service, since, no longer for others, but their own sakes, they must continue the struggle." Determined, therefore, to proceed in this manner, they despatched Pisander and half the former deputation once more to Athens, to manage the execution of the project there: to whom, farther, instructions were given, at whatever places in their dependances they should touch upon the voyage, to set up the oligarchy. The other half they sent severally about to other of the dependant states. Diotrepes also, who was now at Chios, but appointed to take upon him the command of the Thracian provinces, they ordered away immediately to his post.

Diotrepes, upon his arrival at Thasus, dissolved the popular government; and, in the second month at most after this, the Thasians fortified their city as men who no longer cared for an aristocracy under Athenian influence, but were in daily expectation of receiving liberty from the Lacedæmonians: for a number of their countrymen, driven out by the Athenians, were now refuged among the Peloponnesians. These were labouring the point with their correspondents in Thasus, to bring off their shipping, and declare a revolt. The present alteration, therefore, fell out exactly to their own wish; their state was restored to its ancient form without any trouble; and the people, who alone were able to disconcert them, were divested of their power. In Thasus, therefore, the event took an opposite turn to what those Athenians who laboured the oligarchy had at heart; and, in my judgment, the case was the same with many other of their dependant states: for, having now their eyes open to their own welfare, and being exempted from the dread of suffering for what others did, they ran into the scheme of a total independence, which they preferred before the precarious situation of being well governed by the Athenians.

Pisander and his colleagues, in the course of their voyage, observed their instructions, and dissolved the popular governments in the cities where they touched. From some of these they also procured parties of heavy-armed to aid them in the grand project, and so landed at Athens. Here they found affairs in great forwardness, through the activity of their accomplices: for, some of the younger sort having combined together in a plot against Androcles, who had the greatest sway among the people, and had also been deeply concerned in

banishing Alcibiades, they secretly despatched him. On him, for a double reason, because of his influence with the people, and with the thought that it might oblige Alcibiades, whose recallment was now expected, and through his interest the friendship of Tissaphernes, they chose first to wreak their fury. Of some others also, whose tractability they doubted, they had rid themselves by the same practices. A specious harangue had, farther, been dressed up for the purpose, that "none ought to receive the public money but such as served the state in war with their persons; that affairs of state ought not to be communicated to more than five thousand, and those to be men who were best qualified, by their estates and personal bravery, to serve the public."

This with the majority of the city had a fair outside, since such as should concur in the change bid fairest for a share in the administration. Yet still the assembly of the people and the council of the *bean** continued their meetings; but then they only passed such decrees as were approved by the cabal. Nay, of this number were all who spoke, and who had previously considered together what should be said upon every occasion: no other person presumed at any time to oppose their motions, through dread of a cabal which they saw was large; or, did any one venture to open his mouth, by some dexterous contrivance he was certainly put to death. Who were the agents in these murders, no inquiry at all; and of who were suspected, no kind of justification. The people, on the contrary, looked on with stupid gaze, and such a fit of consternation as to think it clear gain not yet to have suffered violence, even though they held their tongues; imagining, besides, that the conspiracy had spread much farther than it really had, they were quite dispirited. To discover any certainty of their numbers they were quite unable, because of the great extent of the city, and their ignorance how far their neighbours might be concerned. On the same account it was also impossible for him who deeply resented his condition to bemoan himself in the hearing of another, or to participate counsels for reciprocal defence: he must either have opened his mind to one whom he did not know, or to an acquaintance in whom he durst not confide; for all the popular party regarded one another with jealous eyes, as in

* The senate.

some measure involved in the present machinations. Some in fact were concerned who could never have been suspected of oligarchical principles; and these men gave rise to the great diffidence which spread among the many, and drew after it the highest security to the schemes of the few, as it kept alive that mutual distrust which reigned among the people.

Pisander therefore and his associates, arriving at this very juncture, gave the finishing stroke without delay. In the first place, having called an assembly of the people, they moved for a decree, "That a committee of ten should be elected with full discretionary power. This committee of ten should draw up the form of a decree, to be reported to the people on a day prefixed, in what manner the state may be best administered." In the next place, when that day came, they summoned an assembly of the people at Colonus: this is a temple of Neptune, without the city, and distant from it about ten stadia.* And here the committee reported no other proposal than this; "that it be lawful for any Athenian to deliver whatever opinion he himself thought proper." They then enacted heavy penalties against any man who hereafter should accuse the speaker of a breach of law, or should bring him into any trouble whatever.

This being done, it was now, without the least reserve or ambiguity, moved, that "no magistrate whatsoever should continue in his post upon the old establishment, nor receive a public salary; but that five presidents† be chosen, who should choose one hundred persons, and each of these hundred should name three persons for associates: that these persons should enter into the senate, be invested absolutely with the administration, and should farther be empowered to convene the five thousand whenever they should deem it proper."

Pisander was the person who made this proposal, and who also in other respects showed himself openly one of the most zealous to pull down the democracy. But he who contrived the whole of the plan, and by what steps the affair should be thus carried into execution, was Antipho, a man who in personal merit was second to no Athenian then alive, and the greatest genius of his time to devise with sagacity, and in-

* One English mile.

† Πρεσβυτοι.

geniously to express what he had once devised. At the assemblies of the people, or any public debate, he never assisted, if he could possibly decline it; since the multitude was jealous of the great reputation he had gained: yet, in the courts of judicature or appeals to the people, he was the only person who was able effectually to serve those clients who could get him for their patron. And this same Antipho, when in process of time the government of the four hundred was quite demolished, and severely prosecuted by the people, is judged to have defended their conduct, and pleaded in a cause where his own life was at stake, the best of any person that down to this time was ever heard to speak.

Phrynichus also was another who singularly distinguished himself in his zeal for the oligarchy. He dreaded Alcibiades, as conscious that he was privy to the whole of the correspondence he had carried on with Astyochus. He proceeded thus, on the supposition that Alcibiades would never be restored by an oligarchical government: and then he was a man in whose capacity and zeal, if once engaged, the greatest confidence might reasonably be placed.

Theramenes, farther, the son of Agnon, a man who both in speaking and acting made no ordinary figure, had a principal share in the dissolution of the popular government: no wonder, therefore, as the business was managed by so many and so able agents, that, spite of every obstacle, it was brought to effect. Grievous indeed it was to the Athenian people to submit to the loss of their liberty a century after the expulsion of their tyrants; during which period they had not only been independent, but accustomed, for above half that space, to give law to others.

To return. When, in the assembly of the people, not a soul was heard to oppose the motion, it passed into a law, and the assembly was adjourned. They afterward introduced the four hundred into the senate, in the following manner:—

The whole body of the citizens were daily under arms, either upon the walls or in the field, to bridle the excursions of the enemy from Decelea. Therefore, on the day appointed, they suffered such as were not in the secret to repair to their posts as usual: but, to those in the plot, it had been privately notified, “by no means to repair to their post, but to lag behind at a distance; and, in case any one should strive to oppose what was now to be agitated, they should take up arms

and quell all opposition." Those to whom these orders were previously imparted were the Andrians and Teians, three hundred of the Carysthians, and other persons now established in Ægina, whom the Athenians had sent thither by way of colony, but were now invited to repair to Athens with their arms to support the scheme. When these dispositions were formed, the four hundred (each carrying a concealed dagger, and guarded by one hundred and twenty youths of Greece, whose hands they had employed when assassination was the point) broke in upon the counsellors of the bean,* who were this moment sitting in the senate-house, and called out to them "to quit the place and take their salaries."† Accordingly they had ready for them the full arrears due to them, which they paid to each as he went out of the house. In this manner the senate, without giving the least opposition, removed themselves tamely from their office; and the rest of the citizens made no effort to check such proceedings, and refrained from any the least tumult.

The four hundred, having thus gained possession of the senate-house, proceeded immediately to ballot for a set of presidents‡ from among their own body; and made use of all the solemn invocations of the deities and the sacrifices with which the presiding magistrates execute their office. By their subsequent proceedings they introduced considerable alterations in the popular form of government; excepting that, on account of Alcibiades, they refrained from recalling exiles; but, in all other respects, they ruled with all possible severity. Some persons, whose removal was deemed convenient, though few in number, they got assassinated; some they threw into prison, and some they banished. To Agis, also, King of the Lacedæmonians, who was still at Decelea, they despatched a deputation, notifying "their readiness to accommodate all disputes, and that with greater confidence he might proceed to make up matters with them than with a democracy which was not to be trusted."

Agis, full of the imagination that the city would not quietly submit to these changes, and that the people would not thus tamely part with their ancient liberty; or, should they now

* The senate of five hundred.

† The stated salary for a senator of Athens was a drachma or sevenpence three farthings a day.

‡ *ἱπποταμῆς*.

behold his numerous army approaching, that public combustions must ensue among them ; unable to persuade himself that at the present juncture they could possibly be kept from tumults,—Agis, I say, returned no proposal of terms to the deputation which came to him from the four hundred. But, having sent for a numerous re-enforcement from Peloponnesus, he advanced soon after, with the garrison of Decelea and the fresh re-enforcements, up to the very walls of Athens. He took this step on the presumption that “thus, either thrown into utter confusion, they might be mastered whenever he gave the word, or even at the first sight of his approach, through the great confusion which in all probability must follow both within and without ; since, to make himself master of the long walls, as there could not be hands at leisure for their defence, he could not fail.”

But when, upon his nearer approach, the Athenians within were thrown into no stir or bustle at all ; when even they caused their cavalry, and detachments of their heavy-armed, light-armed, and archers, to sally out into the field, who made a slaughter of such as were too far advanced, and became masters of their arms and dead bodies ; finding then he had proceeded upon wrong presumptions, he again drew off his army. After this, he himself, with the former garrison, continued in the post of Decelea ; but the late re-enforcement, after some continuance in the country, was sent back to Peloponnesus.

Yet, subsequent to this, the four hundred persisted in sending deputies to Agis with as much eagerness as ever ; and he now receiving them in a better manner, with encouragements to proceed, they even sent an embassy to Lacedæmon to propose a treaty, being of all things desirous to obtain an accommodation.

They also sent to Samos a deputation of ten, in order to satisfy the army, and give them ample assurance that “the oligarchy was not set up for the prejudice either of the state or any individuals, but as the only expedient left to preserve the whole community ; that the number of those who now had the management was five thousand, and not barely four hundred ; and yet, on no occasion whatever had the Athenians, partly through employment in their armies abroad or other foreign avocations, ever met together, to consult on affairs of state, in numbers so large as five thousand.” Having in-

structed them to insert some other alleviating pleas, they sent them away upon the first instant of the change they had made; apprehensive of what actually came to pass, that the bulk of their seamen would never quietly submit to an oligarchical government, and an opposition beginning there might overturn all that had hitherto been done.

For at Samos some stirrs had already arisen about the oligarchy, and that which is now to be recited happened exactly at the time that the four hundred seized the administration at Athens.

The party which at this juncture were subsisting at Samos against the nobility, and were of the popular side, having now altered their schemes, and followed the suggestions of Pisan-der ever since his return from Athens, and gained the concurrence of Athenians at Samos, combined together by oath, to the number of about three hundred, and resolved to fall upon their antagonists as factious on the side of the people. Accordingly, they murdered one Hyperbolus,* an Athenian,

* This was the person whom the ostracism made in some measure famous, and who made the ostracism quite infamous. Plutarch has repeated the story thrice. The following extract is taken from the life of Nicias.

"When the opposition was very hot at Athens between Alcibiades and Nicias, and the day for ostracising was drawing on, which at certain intervals the people of Athens were used to enforce, and send away into a ten years' exile some one citizen suspected of designs against their liberty, or odious for being too illustrious or rich, each of these grand competitors was under grievous apprehensions, and with reason too, that it might be his own lot to be exiled on this occasion. Alcibiades was hated for his way of life, and for his bold and enterprising genius. Nicias was envied on account of his wealth; his way of living was neither sociable nor popular; as he avoided a crowd, and herded with a few intimates, he gave great distaste; besides, as he had often opposed the caprices of the people, and constrained them to pursue their real interest, he was deep in their displeasure. In short, the contest ran high between the young and military men on one side, and the old pacific Athenians on the other, while each were endeavouring to throw the ostracism upon the hated object. But,

'Parties ran high, and scoundrels got renown.'

"Such dissensions in the community gave scope to knaves and incendiaries. There was one Hyperbolus, of Perithadæ, very

a scurvy fellow, and banished by the ostracism, not from a dread of his influence or weight, but for the profligacy of his life, and his being a public disgrace to his country. In this they were countenanced by Charminus, one of the commanders, and some of the Athenians associated with them, to whom they gave this pledge of fidelity. Some other acts of the same nature they committed by instructions from them, and had it in agitation to multiply their blows; but those marked out for destruction getting wind of their design, communicated the whole to Leon and Diomedon, who thought of an oligarchy with high regret, because their credit was high with the people; to Thrasybulus* also and Thrasyllus, the former *

assuming, without the least reason to be so; however, by dint of impudence working himself into power, and the disgrace of his country so soon as he had made himself conspicuous in it. On this occasion Hyperbolus could have no suspicion of becoming himself the butt of an ostracism; he had a much better title to the gallows. Presuming, on the contrary, that, when either of these great men were exiled, he himself could easily make head against the other, he manifested great pleasure at the contest, and irritated the fury of the people against them both. Nicias and Alcibiades, perceiving his roguish intent, conferred privately together; and, getting their several factions to unite, secured one another, and threw the votes on Hyperbolus. Such a turn at first gave the Athenians much pleasure and diversion; yet soon after they were highly chagrined, by reflecting that making such a scoundrel the object of it was shaming the ostracism for ever. There was dignity even in punishments: the ostracism was of such a nature as to suit a Thucydides, an Aristides, and men of such exalted characters. It was clear honour to Hyperbolus; and gave him room to boast, that, though a scoundrel, he had been distinguished like the greatest and best Athenians; as Plato, the comic poet, says of him,

‘He always acted worthy of himself,
But quite unworthy of such high reproof:
The shell was ne’er designed to honour scoundrels.’

In a word, no person was ever banished by the ostracism after Hyperbolus; it was he who closed the list.”

* Thrasybulus, whose name now first occurs, acts a very high-spirited and noble part in the close of this history. “If virtue could be weighed merely by itself, without any regard to outward circumstance, I should not hesitate (says Cornelius Nepos) to prefer him before all the great men in Greece. But I aver, that not one of them ever surpassed him in integrity, in resolu-

captain of a trireme, and the latter of a band of heavy-armed ; and to such others as were judged most likely to stem the fury of the conspirators. These they conjured " not to look calmly on till their destruction should be completed, and Samos rent away from the Athenians, by which alone till now their empire had been preserved and supported." Listening therefore to these representations, they privately exhorted every single soldier not to suffer such proceedings, and more earnestly than others the Paralian, since all that sailed in that vessel were citizens of Athens, all free, and enemies determined, from time immemorial, to an oligarchy, even when it had no existence. Leon also and Diomedon never went out to sea without leaving them some ships for their guard ; inasmuch that, when the three hundred made their attempt, as all these united in their obstruction, but most heartily of all the Paralians, the popular party at Samos was rescued from destruction. Thirty of those three hundred they even slaughtered, and three of the most factious among the survivors they doomed to banishment. Then, having published an indemnity for the rest, they continued to support the democracy at Samos.

But the Samians and soldiery despatched the Paralus with all expedition to Athens, having on board her Chæreas, the son of Archestratus, an Athenian, who had borne a considerable share in the last turn of affairs, charged with a notification of these last transactions ; for yet it was not known at Samos that the four hundred had seized the administration. No sooner, therefore, were they come to their moorings, than the

tion, in grandeur of soul, and true patriotism. Yet, I know not how it is, though nobody excelled him in real merit, many have outstripped him in point of fame. In the Peloponnesian war (the part of it which now remains), Thrasybulus did many things without Alcibiades ; Alcibiades did nothing without Thrasybulus ; and yet the other, through a happiness peculiar to himself, reaped the glory and benefit of all." So says this elegant Roman writer. The reader will soon see some of Thrasybulus's exploits, separately from and in concert with Alcibiades : but the glory of his life was ridding Athens some years after of thirty tyrants at a blow ; for which he was rewarded by a wreath of olive, the most honourable recompense his grateful countrymen could bestow upon him. He was ever a firm, intrepid, disinterested patriot ; and lost his life at last in the service of his country.

four hundred caused two or three of the crew of the *Paralus* to be dragged away to prison; the residue they turned over from that vessel into another ship of war, and ordered them away as a guard-ship for the station of Eubœa. But Chæreas, sensible in what train affairs were going, had the good fortune to make his escape; and, returning again to Samos, related to the soldiery all that had been done in Athens, exaggerating every point with abundant severity:—that “every citizen was now kept in awe with whips and scourges, and that even their own wives and children daily felt the insolence of those tyrants; nay, they have it now in agitation, that if any on duty at Samos shall presume to oppose their pleasure, immediately to arrest and imprison the whole of their kindred; and, in case the former will not submit, to put the latter to death.” On many other points he also expatiated, all aggravated with falsehoods.

His audience, in the first instant of their passion, were fully bent on the destruction of all those who had appeared most active for an oligarchy, and, in short, of all who had any hand in its promotion; but, being stopped by the interposition of others more moderate, and listening to the remonstrance, that “they ought not to accelerate the ruin of their country, now that a fleet of the enemy lay almost ranged against them for battle,” they desisted. And, afterward, those who had openly avowed the design of restoring the democratical form at Samos, namely, Thrasybulus the son of Lycus, and Thrasyllus (for these had the principal agency in this new revolution), caused every soldier to swear the most solemn oaths, more especially such as were for an oligarchy, that “they would submit to no form but the democracy, and would act in this cause with general unanimity; and, farther, would zealously prosecute the war against the Peloponnesians; that eternal enemies they would remain to the four hundred, and would enter into no treaty of accommodation with them.” All the Samians, farther, that were old enough to bear arms, took the same oaths; and henceforth the army communicated all their affairs to the Samians, and gave them an insight into all the dangers which might attend the sequel; convinced that otherwise no safe resource remained for either; but if the four hundred or the enemy at Miletus proved too hard for them, their ruin was unavoidable.

Terrible were the present embroilments of the times, while

those at Samos were trying to re-establish the democracy at Athens, and those at Athens to force an oligarchical form upon the army. The soldiers, farther, immediately summoned a general assembly, in which they deposed their former commanders, and all such captains of triremes as fell under their suspicions, and then chose others to fill up the vacancies, both captains of triremes and land-commanders, among whom were Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus. The last rose up in the assembly and encouraged them by every topic of persuasion; particularly, that "they had not the least reason to be dispirited, though Athens herself had revolted from them; for this was merely the secession of a minority from men whose numbers were greater, and who were better furnished for every exigence; because the whole navy of Athens was their own, by which they could compel dependant states to pay in their former contingents of tribute as fully as if they sailed on such an errand from Athens itself. Even yet they were masters of a city at Samos, a city despicable in no respect, but which once in a former war had wellnigh wrested the empire of the sea from the Athenians. The seat of war, in regard to their public enemies, would continue the same as it was before; nay, by being masters of the fleet, they were better able to procure all the needful supplies than their opponents who were now at Athens. It was purely owing to their own peculiar situation at Samos that the others had hitherto been masters of the entrance into the Piræus; and they soon should be highly distressed if they refused to restore them their ancient polity, since these at Samos could more easily bar them the use of the sea than be barred up by them. What assistance Athens had hitherto given them against the enemy was but trifling, and of no real importance. Nothing could be lost from that quarter, which was no longer able to supply them with money, since with that they had been supplied by the army; nor to send them any valuable instructions, for the sake of which alone the troops abroad were submissive to the orders of the state at home. Nay, in some points, those at Athens had most egregiously offended, since they had overturned the laws of their country, which those here had preserved, and were exerting their efforts to compel others to the observance of them; and, therefore, in every method of valuation, the men who here provided well for the public welfare were in no respect

worse patriots than the men at Athens. Even Alcibiades, should they grant him an indemnity and a safe return, would readily procure them the king's alliance: and, what had the greatest weight, should they miscarry in every branch of their present designs, many places of refuge lay always open to men possessed of so considerable a fleet, in which they might find fresh cities and another country."

After such occurrences in the assembly convened by the soldiery, and the conclusion of their mutual exhortations, they continued their preparations for war with unremitting diligence. But the deputation of ten, sent from the four hundred to Samos, being informed of these proceedings when they were advanced in their voyage so far as Delos, thought proper to proceed no farther.

About this very time, the Peloponnesians on board the fleet stationed at Miletus clamoured loudly among themselves, that "they were betrayed by Astyochus and Tissaphernes; as the former had already refused to engage, when themselves were hearty and in fine condition, and the fleet of the Athenians was small; nor would do so even now, when the latter were reported to be embroiled with intestine seditions, and their own ships were daily impairing; but, under pretext of a Phœnician fleet to be brought up by Tissaphernes, an aid merely nominal, and which would never join them, he was quining all by dilatory measures. And as for Tissaphernes, it was never his intention to bring up that fleet; but he was plainly undermining the strength of theirs, by not supplying them constantly and fully with their pay. The time, therefore, they insisted, ought no longer to be thus idly wasted, but an engagement hazarded at once." Yet in such clamours those deepest concerned were the Syracusans.

The confederates and Astyochus himself being affected with these clamours, and having declared in a counsel of war for engaging the enemy forthwith, as they had received undoubted intelligence of the confusions at Samos; putting out to sea with the whole of their fleet, amounting to a hundred and twelve sail, and having ordered the Milesians to march thither over land, they stood away for Mycale. At Glaucæ of Mycale the Athenians were now lying, with eighty-two ships of the Samian department: for in this quarter of Mycale Samos lies, but a small distance from the continent: but, when they saw the fleet of the Peloponnesians ap-

proaching, they retired to Samos, judging their own strength insufficient for an engagement with the foe which might prove decisive. Besides, as they had discovered the intention of those at Miletus to venture an engagement, they expected Strombichides from the Hellespont, who was to bring to their assistance the ships on the station of Chios which had gone up to Abydos; and a message had already been despatched to hasten him up. For these reasons they plied away to Samos. The Peloponnesians, arriving at Mycale, encamped upon the shore, along with the land-forces of the Milesians and those sent in by the bordering people. On the next day, when they were fully bent on standing directly against Samos, advice was brought them that "Strombichides had come up with the ships from the Hellespont;" upon which they made the best of their way back again to Miletus. And now the Athenians, having gained so large an accession of strength, showed themselves immediately before Miletus, with a hundred and eight sail, desirous of coming to an engagement with the enemy. But, as nothing stirred out against them, they also returned to Samos.

In the same summer, immediately after the former movements, the Peloponnesians, who had waived coming out to an engagement, since with the whole of their strength they thought themselves by no means a match for their enemy, and were now reduced to great perplexities about the methods of procuring subsistence for so numerous a fleet, especially as Tissaphernes was so remiss in his payments, sent away to Pharnabazus (pursuant to the prior instructions from Peloponnesus) Clearchus, the son of Ramphias, with a detachment of forty sail; for Pharnabazus had demanded such a force, and was ready to support the expenses of it; and it had been farther notified to them in form that Byzantium was ripe for a revolt. And thus this detachment of Peloponnesians, having run out far to sea to get clear of the Athenians during the course, met with very tempestuous weather. The bulk of them, it is true, with Clearchus, rode it out to Delos, and from thence returned again to Miletus. But Clearchus, setting out again, travelled over land to Hellespont, and took upon him the command. Ten ships, however, of the detachment, under Elixus, the Megarean, who was joined in the command, reached the Hellespont without damage, and effectuated the revolt of Byzantium. The Athenians at Samos, in-

formed of these incidents, sent away a detachment to the Hellespont, to support and guard the adjacent cities : and a small engagement happened before Byzantium, between eight ships on a side.

Those who were in the management at Samos, and above all Thrasybulus, adhering still to the sentiments they had entertained ever since the last turn of affairs there, that Alcibiades must needs be recalled ; the latter at last obtained, in full assembly, the concurrence of the soldiery. Accordingly, when they had voted a return and an indemnity to Alcibiades, Thrasybulus repaired immediately to Tissaphernes, and brought Alcibiades back with him to Samos ; convinced their last resource depended on his being able to alienate Tissaphernes from the Peloponnesians. Hereupon, an assembly being called, Alcibiades at large expatiated upon and deplored the malignity of his fate, in having been exiled from his country : and then, having amply run over every topic relating to the present posture of affairs, he raised their expectations high in regard to the future. He magnified, with a mighty parade of words, his own interest in Tissaphernes ; from the view, not only to intimidate the patrons of the oligarchical government at Athens, and put a stop to their cabals, but also to render himself more respectable to those at Samos, and to raise up their confidence in him as high as possible : to give the enemy, farther, as many handles as he was able to calumniate Tissaphernes, and to lower all their present sanguinary expectations. These were the schemes of Alcibiades, when, with all imaginable ostentation, he gave the strongest assurances to his audience, that Tissaphernes had pledged his word to him, that, could he once firmly depend upon the Athenians, they never should be distressed for want of supplies while he had any thing left ; nay, though at last he should be forced to turn into ready cash the very bed he lay on ; and the Phœnician fleet, already come up to Aspendus, he would join with the Athenians, but never with the Peloponnesians ; the only pledge of fidelity he required from the Athenians was, for Alcibiades to be recalled, and pass his word for their future conduct.

The army, delighted with these and many other soothing topics, proceeded immediately to associate him with the rest of the commanders, and implicitly trusted every thing to their management. Not a man was any longer to be found among

them who would have parted with his present confidence of certain security, and revenge on the four hundred, for all the treasure in the universe. Nay, they were ready this very moment; upon the strength of what Alcibiades had said, to slight the enemy now at hand, and steer directly for the Piræus. But, though numbers with vehemence recommended the step, he stopped their ardour by remonstrances, that "they ought by no means to think of steering for the Piræus, and leave their nearer enemies upon their backs; but, in relation to the operations of war, since he was elected a general (he said), he would first go and confer with Tissaphernes, and would then proceed to action." Accordingly, the assembly was no sooner dissolved than he immediately departed, that he might appear in all respects to be perfectly united with Tissaphernes; desirous also to raise himself in his esteem, and give him a sensible proof that he was appointed a general; and, by virtue of this, enabled either to do him service or to do him harm. It was the peculiar fortune of Alcibiades to awe the Athenians by Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes by the Athenians.

The Peloponnesians at Miletus had no sooner heard of the recall of Alcibiades, than, as before they suspected treachery in Tissaphernes, they now loudly vented invectives against him. What more inflamed them was, that, ever since the Athenians showed themselves before Miletus, and they had refused to put out to sea and engage them, Tissaphernes had slackened more than ever in his payments; and thus, hated by them for that reason sufficiently before, he now became more odious on account of Alcibiades. The soldiers again, as on former occasions, ran together in parties, and enumerated their grievances. Nay, some of higher rank, persons of real importance, and not merely the private men, were full of remonstrances, that "they had at no time received their full subsistence: his payments had been always scanty, and even those had never been regular; in short, unless they were led directly against the enemy, or carried to some other station where they might be sure of subsistence, the crews would abandon their vessels. And the whole blame of all that befall ought to be charged upon Astyochus, who for private lucre endured patiently the caprices of Tissaphernes." Employed as they were in thus enumerating grievances, a tumult actually broke out against Astyochus: for the mariners be-

longing to the Syracusan and Thurian vessels, by how much they enjoyed the greatest liberty of all others in the fleet, by so much the more heightened in confidence did they flock about him and demand their pay. Upon this Astyochus returned an answer too full of spirit, threatening hard that Dorian* who seconded and encouraged the demands of his men, and even lifting his staff and shaking it at him. This was no sooner perceived by the military crowd than, seamen as they were, with a loud uproar, they rushed at Astyochus to knock him down; but, aware of their design, he fled for refuge to an altar. He escaped, indeed, without any blows, and the fray was ended without any harm committed.

The Milesians also made themselves masters, by surprise, of a fort erected by Tissaphernes at Miletus, and obliged the garrison left in it to evacuate the place. These things pleased the rest of the allies, and not least of all the Syracusans. Lichas, however, was by no means satisfied with these proceedings. He insisted "the Milesians were obliged in duty to be submissive to Tissaphernes; and that all others who lived in the dominions of the king lay under the same obligation, and were bound to pay due regard to his just authority, till such time as the war was handsomely completed." This drew upon him the resentment of the Milesians; and, because of these expressions and some others of the same nature, when he afterward died of a natural disease, they would not suffer him to be buried in a spot of ground which the Lacedæmonians who were among them had chosen for his interment.

While affairs were thus sadly embroiled between the soldiery on one side, and Astyochus and Tissaphernes on the other, Mindarus arrived from Lacedæmon, as successor to Astyochus in the chief command of the fleet. Accordingly he took the command upon him, and Astyochus sailed away for home. But with him, as ambassador, Tissaphernes sent one of his own creatures, by name Gaulites, a Carian, who spoke both languages, to accuse the Milesians about the seizure of the fort, and also to make apologies for his conduct. He knew that the Milesians were already set out with an outcry, chiefly against him; and that Hermocrates was gone with them, well armed with proofs that Tissaphernes, in con-

* Hermocrates.

cert with Alcibiades, baffled all the Peloponnesian schemes, and basely tampered with both the warring parties. But an enmity had always subsisted between these two about the payments of subsistence. And at length, when Hermocrates was banished from Syracuse, and other Syracusans came to Miletus to take upon them the command of the Syracusan vessels (namely, Potamis, and Myscon, and Demarchus), Tissaphernes vented his choler more bitterly than ever against Hermocrates, now an exile; and, among his other accusations of him, affirmed, that "he had demanded a sum of money, which being refused him, he had ever since declared himself his enemy." Astyochus, therefore, and the Milesians, and Hermocrates, had now sailed for Lacedæmon.

By this time also Alcibiades had repassed from Tissaphernes to Samos; and from Delos the deputation sent from the four hundred on the late revolution to sooth and gain the concurrence of those at Samos, arrived also while Alcibiades was there. Upon which, an assembly being called, they endeavoured to open the cause. The soldiers at first refused to hear them, and roared aloud for the murder of those who had overturned the popular government. At length, with great difficulty, being quieted, they gave them a hearing.

The deputies remonstrated, "that not for the ruin of Athens was this new change introduced, but purely for its preservation, in nowise to betray it into the hands of the enemy; because that might have been done effectually upon the late approach of its enemy to her walls, since they were in power. Every single person among the five thousand was intended to have a regular share in the administration. Their friends and relations are not treated in an insolent manner, as Chæreas had maliciously suggested to them; nay, were not in the least molested, but everywhere remained in the undisturbed possession of their property."

Though on these topics they amply enlarged, yet they were heard with no manner of complaisance, but with manifest indignation. Different methods of proceeding were recommended by different persons; but the majority declared for sailing away at once for the Piræus. On this occasion Alcibiades first showed himself a true patriot; nay, as much a patriot as ever Athenian had been; for, when the Athenians at Samos were hurried furiously along to invade their own selves, the plain consequence of which was giving up at once

Ionia and Hellespont to their public foes, he mollified their fury ; and, at a crisis when no other man living could have been able to restrain the multitude, he persuaded them to desist from this strange invasion ; and, by reprimanding those whose private resentments burst out most violently against the deputies, prevented mischief. At length, he himself dismissed them with the following answer :—That “ the administration in the hands of five thousand he had no intention to oppose : but he ordered them to give an immediate discharge to the four hundred, and to restore the council of five hundred to their prior state. If, farther, from a principle of frugality, they had made retrenchments, in order that those who served in the armies of the state might be better subsisted, he praised them altogether. He then recommended to them a steady resistance, and by no means in any shape to give way to the enemy ; for, could the state once be secured from its public foes, a reconciliation among its members might easily be hoped for ; but, should either party be once destroyed, either this at Samos, or theirs at Athens, none would soon be left to be reconciled at all.”

There were present at this audience ambassadors from the Argives, who brought assurances of aid to the people of Athens at Samos. Alcibiades commended them for their zeal ; and then, exhorting them to hold themselves in readiness to come upon a summons sent, he civilly dismissed them. These Argives came to Samos in company with the Paraliars, who had been lately turned over by the four hundred into a vessel of war, to cruise round Eubœa, and to carry to Lacedæmon the ambassadors, Lespodias, Aristophon, and Melesius, sent thither from the four hundred. But, when advanced to the height of Argos, they put the ambassadors under arrest, as chief agents in pulling down the democracy, and delivered them up to the Argives. They had no business now at Athens, and so came from Argos to Samos, conveying the Argive ambassadors in the trireme which they had seized.

The same summer, Tissaphernes, about that juncture of time in which the Peloponnesians were most furious against him for the other reasons, and the recallment of Alcibiades, as having now pulled off the mask and declared for the Athenians, desirous, as in truth it appeared, to efface the bad impressions they had entertained of him, got ready to go

to Aspendus to the Phœnician fleet, and prevailed with Lichas to bear him company. In regard to the Peloponnesians, he declared that he substituted his own lieutenant, Tamas, to pay them their subsistence, while he himself should be absent. Various accounts are vented about this step; nor can it certainly be known with what view he repaired to Aspendus, or why, when there, he did not bring up the fleet. That a Phœnician fleet, consisting of one hundred and forty-seven sail, was now come up to Aspendus, is allowed on all sides; but why they did not come forward, is variously conjectured. Some think he went out of sight merely to carry on his old scheme of wearing away the Peloponnesians; and, in consequence of this, Tamas paid in their subsistence which he was ordered to pay, not better, but even worse than Tissaphernes. Others say it was that, since he had brought the Phœnicians to Aspendus, he might save large sums by dismissing them there, as he never had sincerely designed to make use of their service. Others, again, attribute it to a desire to quiet the clamours against him at Lacedæmon, and to get himself represented there as one abounding in good faith, and who was actually gone to bring up a fleet fairly and honestly fitted out for service.

But, in my opinion, the true solution of the mystery is this: he would not bring them up, merely to wear out and to balance the strength of the Grecians, that, during his absence and this studied prolongation, the latter might be running into ruins; and, farther, for the sake of balancing, to join with neither party, for fear of making them too strong; for, had he once determined to join heartily in the war, the consequence was certainly beyond a doubt. Had he brought them up to join the Lacedæmonians, he must in all probability have given them the victory, since already their naval strength was rather equal than inferior to that of their opponents. But, that their ruin alone was designed by him is plain from the excuse he made for not bringing up that fleet: he pretended they were fewer in number than the king had ordered to be assembled: yet, if this were so, he might have ingratiated himself more abundantly with the king, if he made a great saving of money for his master, and with less expense had accomplished his service. To Aspendus, however, whatever was his view, Tissaphernes repairs, and joins the Phœnicians; nay, farther, at his own desire, the Peloponnesians

sent Philippus, a noble Lacedæmonian, with two triremes, to take charge of this fleet.

Alcibiades had no sooner received intelligence that Tissaphernes was at Aspendus, than, taking with him thirteen sail, he hastened thither after him, promising to those at Samos an assured and important piece of service: for "he would either bring the Phœnician fleet to the Athenians, or at least prevent their junction with the Peloponnesians." It is probable that, from a long acquaintance, he was privy to the whole intention of Tissaphernes never to bring up this fleet; and his project was now to render Tissaphernes still more odious to the Peloponnesians, for the regard he showed to himself and the Athenians, that so he might at last be necessitated to strike in with the latter. He stood away therefore directly by Phaselis and Caunus, and held on his course upwards.

The deputation sent from the four hundred being returned from Samos to Athens, reported the answer of Alcibiades; how "he encouraged them to hold out, and give way in no shape to the enemy: and that his confidence was great he should be able thoroughly to reconcile them with the army, and give them victory over the Peloponnesians." By this report they very much revived the spirits of many of those who had a share in the oligarchy, and yet would gladly extricate themselves from the business upon assurances of indemnity. They had already begun to hold separate cabals, and show open discontent at the train of affairs. They were headed by some of principal authority even in the present oligarchy, and who filled the great offices of state, namely, Theramenes, the son of Agnon, and Aristocrates, the son of Sicelius; and others who were most deeply concerned in the late transactions;* and from a dread, as they gave out, of

* Theramenes was very expert at turning about and shifting his party. He got by it the nickname of Cothurnus, or the Buskin; because the tragedian's buskin was made large enough for any foot to go into it. He was, however, a man of great abilities, and generally regarded as a lover of his country. His turns were dexterous, well-timed, and made with a view to public good. Cesar, when making Cicero a compliment, likened him to Theramenes. He was deeply concerned in all the subsequent revolutions at Athens. He put the finishing hand to the peace with the Lacedæmonians after the taking of Athens by Lysander, when they demolished their long walls, opened

the army at Samos, and Alcibiades had concurred in sending an embassy to Lacedæmon, lest by unseasonable dissents from the majority they might have done mischief to the public. Not that they hastened themselves even now to put an utter end to the oligarchical government, but to enforce the necessity of making use of the five thousand not merely in name, but in act, and to render the polity more equal. This was, it must be owned, the political scheme which they all pretended ; but, through private ambition, the majority had given into that course, by which an oligarchy, founded upon the ruins of a democracy, is ripe for subversion : for it was the daily claim of each single person concerned, not to be equal with the rest, but to be pre-eminently the first ; whereas, when out of a democracy a preference is awarded, the distinction is the more easily brooked, as if it were the real consequence of superior worth. But what of a certainty elevated them most, was the great influence of Alcibiades at Samos, and their own consciousness that this business of an oligarchy carried with it no prospect of firm or lasting continuance. A contention, therefore, ensued among them, which of them should show the greatest zeal for the people.

But such of the four hundred as made the greatest opposition to this new scheme, and were leaders of their party ; namely, Phrynichus, who formerly, during his employment as general at Samos, had embroiled himself with Alcibiades ; and Aristarchus, one of the most violent and also most inveterate opponents of the people ; and Pisander, and Antipho, and others of the greatest influence among them ; who formerly, upon establishing themselves first in the government, and ever since the army at Samos had dissented from them in favour of the democracy, had bestirred themselves in sending embassies to Lacedæmon, in more firmly establishing the oligarchy, and erecting a new fortification on the spot which is called Eëtioneia :—these, I say, exerted themselves with much greater ardour than ever since the return of the deputies from Samos, as they plainly saw the inclinations of numbers ; and some of their own body, on whose perseve-

their harbours, and gave up their shipping. He was afterward, nominally, one of the thirty tyrants : for he soon began to oppose them ; first with moderation, then with vehemence ; which exasperated them so that they put him to death.

rance they had highly depended, were entirely changed. They even caused Antipho, and Phrynichus, and ten others, to set out with all expedition; so apprehensive were they of fresh opposition, both in Athens itself and from Samos; and charged them with instructions to strike up an accommodation with the Lacedæmonians upon any tolerable terms they could possibly procure: they also carried on with redoubled diligence the new works at Eëtioneia. These works were intended, as was given out by Theramenes and his party, not so much to keep out of the Piræus those from Samos, should they endeavour to attempt it, as to enable themselves, at their own discretion, to receive both the ships and land-forces of the enemy; for Eëtioneia is the mole of the Piræus, and the entrance into it opens at the end of this mole. The new work was therefore joined in such a manner to that which guarded it before, on the side of the land, that a small party posted behind could command the entrance: for the extremities of it were continued down to the fort in the very mouth of the harbour, which was narrow; and both the old wall, which was built on the land side, and this new fortification within, reached down to the sea. They also enlarged and secured the great portico, which adjoined to the new work erected in the Piræus, and kept it entirely in their own custody. Here they obliged all the citizens to lodge what corn they already had, and all that should hereafter be imported; and here only to expose it to sale and to vend it.

These proceedings had for a long time drawn sharp insinuations from Theramenes; and, when the embassy returned from Lacedæmon without bringing to any manner of issue a general accommodation for the whole of the state, he averred, that "by this new work the safety of the city was visibly endangered:" for from Peloponnesus, at this instant of time, at the request of the Eubœans, no less than forty-two sail of ships were on the coast of Laconia; some of which were Italian, from Tarentum and from Locri, and some Sicilian; and all were now bound for Eubœa. At the head of this equipment was Hegesandridas, a Spartan, the son of Hegesander. Theramenes maintained, that "it was set out less for Eubœa than for those who were now fortifying at Eëtioneia; and, unless we stand upon our guard, they will surprise and complete the ruin of Athens." There was really something in the conduct of the men he accused to countenance

this charge ; nor was it merely the outcry of slander. Those who now composed the oligarchy were principally desirous to preserve in their hands the whole appendage of the republic : if this were impracticable, to secure the shipping and walls, and subsist with independence ; but, should they be unable to compass this, rather than fall the first victims to the democracy re-established, to let in the enemy ; and, resigning their shipping and fortifications, to make any terms whatever for the state, provided they could obtain security for their own persons. They accelerated therefore this new work ; which was so contrived as to have posterns, and sally-ports, and passages enough to let in the enemy ; and they proceeded with all imaginable despatch, in order to outstrip prevention.

Hitherto, indeed, this charge against them had only been whispered with an air of secrecy among a few : but when Phrynichus, upon his return from the embassy to Lacedæmon, was treacherously stabbed by one of the patrol in the forum, at the hour of public resort, being got but a few steps from the house where the council was sitting, and dropped down dead upon the spot ; when, farther, the assassin made his escape ; and a stranger from Argos, who assisted at the fact, being apprehended and tortured by the four hundred, discovered not the name of any one person who set them on, nor made any farther confession than that " he knew large numbers met at the house of the officer who commanded the patrol, and at other places ;" then, at length, as nothing could be made of this affair, Theramenes and Aristocrates, and as many either of the four hundred or of others as were combined with them, proceeded to act in a more open and resolute manner : for by this time the fleet was come round from Laconia ; and, riding before Epidaurus, had made ravages upon Ægina. Theramenes therefore averred it improbable that, " were they intended for Eubœa, they would ever have put into Ægina, and then go again and lie at Epidaurus, unless they had been sent out at the express invitation of those whom he had always accused of traitorous designs ; and it was impossible to be passive any longer under such practices." In fine, after many speeches made to excite a tumult, and many suspicions disseminated abroad, they fell to work in earnest : for the heavy-armed, posted in the Piræus to carry on the new works of Eëtionæia, among whom Aristocrates himself was employed at the head of his own band, laid

under an arrest Alexicles, who commanded there for the oligarchy, and was a most vehement adversary to the opposite party; and carrying him into a house, put him under confinement. To this action they were also imboldened by the concurrence of others, as well as by Hermon, who commanded the patrol assigned for Munychia; and, what was of most importance, it was openly countenanced by the whole body of the heavy-armed. The news of it was immediately carried to the four hundred, who were this moment assembled together in council; and all, excepting those dissatisfied with their measures, were ready to run to arms, and vented terrible threats against Theramenes and his associates.

But he, apologizing for himself, declared his readiness to take up arms along with them, and attend them to the rescue of Alexicles; and, taking with him one of the generals who was in his secret, he hurried down to the Piræus. Aristarchus also ran down to assist; as did, farther, the young men belonging to the cavalry of the state.

Great, in truth, was the tumult, and full of horror; for those who were left in the upper city imagined that the Piræus was already seized, and that Alexicles was slain; and they in the Piræus each moment expected an assault from those in the city. Not without difficulty could the men of years and experience stop such as were wildly running up and down the streets, and rushing to arms. And Thucydides, the Pharsalian, public host of the state, who happened then to be at Athens, threw himself with lively zeal in the way of all who were flocking down; conjuring them earnestly "not to finish the ruin of their country, when the enemy lay so near to strike the blow." But thus, at length, their fury abated, and the effusion of one another's blood was prevented.

As for Theramenes, he was no sooner got down to the Piræus, than, assuming authority (for he himself was at this time a general), he pretended to rate the heavy-armed for this piece of mutiny, at least so far as mere making a noise could do it, while Aristarchus and all the opposite faction were angry with them in earnest. But the bulk of the heavy-armed drew together in a body, and betrayed no sign of regret for what they had done. Nay, they demanded aloud from Theramenes, "if, in his judgment, these new works were raised with a good design, or would not better be demolish-

ed!" His reply was this: that, "if they thought it expedient to demolish them, his opinion should concur with theirs." Hereupon, at a signal given, the heavy-armed, and many others who belonged to the Piræus, rushed on in a moment, and pulled down all the new fortification.

The watchword now published to the multitude was this:—"Whosoever would have the administration lodged in the five thousand instead of the four hundred, let him join in the work:" for even still they judged it politic to veil their design under the name of the five thousand, and not to say downright, "Whosoever would have the democracy restored," lest possibly the former might have been actually in force, and a person speaking to any one of them might spoil all by some inadvertent expressions: and, on the same account, the four hundred would neither have the five thousand declared, nor yet have it known that they had never been appointed. To admit so large a number into a share of the government, they judged was in fact a mere democracy; but that leaving the matter in suspense would strike a dread of his neighbour into every Athenian.

The next morning the four hundred, though highly disordered in their politics, assembled however in council. But those in the Piræus, after enlarging Alexicles, whom they had put under confinement, and completing the demolition of the new works, marched to the theatre of Bacchus in Munychia, and there, all armed as they were, held a formal assembly; and then, in pursuance of what had been resolved, marched directly into the upper city, and posted themselves in the Anaceum. Here they were accosted by a select committee sent from the four hundred, who man to man reasoned calmly with them; and, perceiving any to be tractable, plied them with persuasions to proceed in a gentle manner, and to restrain the fury of their associates; giving them assurances, that "the five thousand would be declared; and from them, by regular succession, at the pleasure of the five thousand, the four hundred should be appointed;" conjuring them, in the meantime, "not to forward, through impatience, the destruction of the state, nor give it up for a prey to the public enemy." The whole multitude of the heavy-armed, attentive to these arguments, on which many expatiated at large, and pressed home upon numbers, became more tractable than they were at first, and were most terribly alarmed at the mention

of the total destruction of their polity. It was at last concluded that, on a set day, an assembly should be held in the temple of Bacchus, to devise an accommodation.

But, when this assembly, to be held in the temple of Bacchus, came on, and all parties were only not completely met, came in the news that "the two-and-forty sail and Hegesandridas were coasting along from Megara towards Salamis." Not one of the heavy-armed this moment but pronounced it true, what before was given out by Theramenes and his friends, that "to the new fortifications these ships are now bound;" and it was judged that in the nick of time they had been levelled with the ground: but Hegesandridas, as perhaps had beforehand been concerted, only hovered about at Epidaurus or the adjacent coast. It is however probable, that on account of the present sedition among the Athenians, he lay for a time in this station, in hope to seize some fair opportunity to strike a blow.

Be this as it will, the Athenians no sooner heard the news, than, to a man, they flocked down amain to the Piræus; less alarmed at their own domestic war than at invasion from a public enemy, no longer remote, but at their very ports. Some of them threw themselves on board what shipping was ready; others launched such as were aground; and others posted themselves upon the walls and at the mouth of the harbour.

But the Peloponnesian fleet, having sailed by and doubled the Cape of Sunium, came to anchor between Thoricus and Prasizæ, and proceeded afterward to Oropus. Hereupon the Athenians, in all imaginable hurry, manning out their ships with what hands could be got on this sudden emergency, as in a city distracted with sedition, and yet eager to stave off the greatest danger that had ever threatened it (for, as Attica was occupied by the enemy, Eubœa was now their all), caused Thymocharis, a commander, to stand away with their fleet to Eretria. On their arrival there, and their junction with such as were already in Eubœa, they amounted to six-and-thirty sail, and were immediately forced to engage: for Hegesandridas, after the hour of repast, came out in line of battle from Oropus.

The distance of Oropus from the city of the Eretrians, across the sea, is about sixty stadia;* and therefore, upon

* About six English miles.

his approach, the Athenians ordered their men on board, imagining the soldiers to be ready at hand to obey their orders, whereas they happened not yet to be returned from the market, whither they had gone to buy provision: for, through the management of the Eretrians, nothing could be got by way of sale, except in such houses as lay in the most remote quarters of the city; with an intent that the enemy might attack the Athenians before they were all embarked, and oblige them in a hurrying and disorderly manner to begin the fight. Nay, a signal had even been held out to the enemy from Eretria towards Oropus, at what time they ought to come forward to the attack.

Upon so short a notice, the Athenians, having formed their line as well as they were able, and engaging the enemy before the harbour of Eretria, made however a gallant resistance for a time. At length, being compelled to sheer off, they were pursued to land; and as many of them as ran for safety to the city of the Eretrians suffered the most cruel treatment, in being murdered by the hands of men whom they supposed their friends. Such, indeed, as could reach the fort of Eretria, which was garrisoned by Athenians, were safe; as also the vessels which could make Chalcis.

But the Peloponnesians, after making prizes of two-and-twenty Athenian vessels, and either butchering or making prisoners all on board them, erected a trophy: and, no long time after, they caused all Eubœa to revolt, excepting Oreus, which an Athenian garrison secured, and then settled the state of that island at their own discretion.

When advice of what was done at Eubœa reached Athens, the greatest consternation ensued of all that had to this day been known. Not even the dreadful blow received in Sicily, though great concern, in truth, it gave them, nor any other public disaster, caused so terrible an alarm among them: for, at a time when their army at Samos was in open revolt; when they had no longer either shipping in store or mariners to go on board; when they were distracted with intestine sedition, and ready each moment to tear one another to pieces; and on the neck of all these this great calamity supervened, in which they lost their fleet, and, what was of more consequence, Eubœa, which had better supplied their necessities than Attica itself,—had they not ample reason now to fall into utter dejection? But what alarmed them most was the prox

imity of ruin, in case the enemy, flushed with their late success, should stand immediately into the Piræus, now utterly destitute of ships. Not a moment passed but they imagined they were only not in the very harbour ; which, in truth, had they been a little more daring, they might easily have been. Nay, had they made this step and blocked up the city, they must infallibly have increased the seditions within it ; must have necessitated the fleet to come over from Ionia, though averse to the oligarchy, in order to prevent the ruin of their own relations and the total destruction of their country ; and, in the meantime, Hellespont, Ionia, the isles even up to Eubœa, in a word, the whole empire of Athens, must have been their own. Yet, not in this instance only, but many others, the Lacedæmonians showed themselves most commodious enemies for the Athenians to encounter ; for, as nothing differed more than their respective tempers ; the one being active, the other slow ; enterprising these, but timorous those, especially in naval competitions ; they gave them many advantages. The truth of this the Syracusans most plainly showed, who very nearly resembled the Athenians in disposition, and so warred against them with the highest spirit and success.

Terrified, however, at these tidings, the Athenians made a shift to man out twenty vessels, and convened an assembly of the people, on the first report of their loss, in the place which is called the Pnyx, and where generally that assembly was held. In this they put an end to the administration of the four hundred, and decreed "the supreme power to be vested in the five thousand, which number to consist of all such citizens as were enrolled for the heavy armour ; and that no one should receive a salary for any public magistracy ; whoever offended in this point they declared a traitor." Other frequent assemblies were afterward held, in which they appointed nomothetæ,* and filled up the other posts in

* The general course of appointing nomothetæ was by lot. Their number in the whole was a thousand and one. Their business was not, as the name seems to imply, to make new laws, since that belonged to the supreme power lodged in the people ; but to inspect such as were already made, to reconsider such as were thought to be or were complained of as grievous, and regularly report such as ought to be continued or ought to be repealed.

the government. And now, at least, though for the first time in my opinion, the Athenians seem to have modelled their government aright. A moderation, finely tempered between the few and the many, was now enforced : and, from the low situation in which their affairs were now plunged, this enabled Athens to re-erect her head.

They decreed, farther, the recallment of Alcibiades and his adherents ; and, despatching a deputation to him and the army at Samos, exhorted them to exert their utmost efforts for the public service.

In the first moments of this new revolution, Pisander and Alexicles, with their partisans, and in general all the great sticklers for the oligarchy, withdrew privately to Decelea. But Aristarchus, who was one of the generals of the state, took a different route from all the rest ; and, carrying off a party of archers, though rank Barbarians, went off towards Oenoe : Oenoe was a fortress of the Athenians on the frontiers of Bœotia. But the Corinthians, on a provocation peculiar to themselves, having procured the concurrence of the Bœotians, held it now blocked up, because a party of their countrymen, drawing off from Decelea, had been put to the sword by a sally of the garrison from Oenoe. Aristarchus, therefore, having in a conference settled matters with the besiegers, deceived the garrison in Oenoe, by assuring them that, “as their countrymen in Athens had made up all their quarrels with the Lacedæmonians, they also were bound to deliver up this place to the Bœotians ; and that this was an express provision in the treaty.” Giving credit therefore to him as in public command, and ignorant of all the late transactions, because closely blocked up, they agreed with the enemy and evacuated the fortress. In this manner the Bœotians regained possession of abandoned Oenoe : and thus the oligarchy and sedition were suppressed at Athens.

But, about the same space of time in the current summer, in regard to the Peloponnesians at Miletus :—When none of those who were substituted by Tissaphernes during his absence at Aspendus made regular payments ; and nothing could be seen either of Tissaphernes or the Phœnician fleet ; and Philippus, who accompanied him, sent advice to Mindarus, the admiral-in-chief ; and Hippocrates, farther, a citizen of Sparta, who was then at Phaselis, advised him also that “this fleet would never join him, and in all respects they

were shamefully abused by Tissaphernes ;" as Pharnabazus had made them an invitation, and declared himself ready, if aided by the confederate fleet, to engage as strongly as Tissaphernes for the revolt of what cities yet remained in subjection to the Athenians ; Mindarus, hoping to find more punctuality in the latter, with notable conduct, and by a sudden signal to the fleet, that his motions might not be discovered at Samos, weighed from Miletus with seventy-three sail, and bent his course to the Hellespont. But, earlier this summer, sixteen ships had steered their course thither, and ravaged part of the Chersonesus. Mindarus met with tempestuous weather in his passage, which forced him to put into Icarus ; and, after staying there five or six days for want of weather to keep the sea, he arrived at Chios.

Thrasyllus, so soon as informed of the departure from Miletus, stood after him with five-and-fifty sail, making the best of his way lest the other should enter the Hellespont before he reached him. But, gaining intelligence that he was put into Chios, and concluding he designed to remain there, he fixed his scouts at Lesbos and the opposite continent ; that, if the Peloponnesian fleet put out, their motions might be descried. He himself, repairing to Methymne, ordered quantities of meal and other necessaries to be prepared, that, in case he should be forced to stay in these parts, he might make frequent cruises from Lesbos against Chios.

But, as Eressus in Lesbos had revolted, his design was farther to attempt its reduction, in case it were feasible : for some of the Methymnean exiles, and those not the most inconsiderable of the number, having brought over from Cyme about fifty heavy-armed who were most firmly attached to their cause, and hired others from the continent, which increased their number to about three hundred, Anaxarchus, the Theban, in respect of consanguinity, being chosen their leader, assaulted first Methymne ; and, being repulsed in the attempt by the Athenian garrison which came up from Mitylene, and then driven quite off by a battle fought in the field, they retired across the mountain, and made Eressus revolt. Thrasyllus, therefore, steering with his fleet against Eressus, projected an assault. But Thrasybulus, with five ships from Samos, arrived there before him, upon information received of the repassage of the exiles ; yet, coming too late before Eressus to prevent a revolt, he lay at anchor before it. Two

other ships, also, bound homeward from the Hellespont, came in, and the Methymnean. All the ships in the fleet amounted now to sixty-seven, from which they draughted an army for the operations of land, as fully bent, if possible, to take Ereassus by a bold assault, with engines and all the arts of attack.

In the meantime, Mindarus and the Peloponnesian fleet at Chios, after two whole days' employment in taking in provisions, and receiving from the Chians every man on board three Chian tesseracosts,* on the third day with urgent despatch launched out from Chios into the wide sea, that they might not be descried by the fleet before Ereassus; and leaving Lesbos on the left, stood over to the continent. There, putting into the harbour of Crateræi on the coast of Phocæa, and taking their noon repast, they proceeded along the coast of Cyme, and supped at Arginussæ of the continent, against Mitylene. From thence, at dead of night, they went forward along the shore; and, being arrived at Harmatus, which lies facing Methymne, and having eaten their dinner there, they passed with the utmost speed by Lectus, and Larissa, and Amaxitus, and other adjacent places, and reached Rhætium of the Hellespont before midnight. Not but that some ships of the fleet got up no farther than to Sigæum and some other adjacent places on that coast.

The Athenians, who were lying with eighteen sail at Sestus, when the lights were waved by their own friends for signals, and they beheld numerous fires kindled on a sudden on the hostile coast, were well assured that the Peloponnesians were approaching. The same night, therefore, under favour of the dark, and with the utmost expedition, they crept along under the Chersonesus, and reached Eleus, desirous to put out to sea and avoid the enemy; and, for the sixteen ships at Abydos, they stole away unperceived of the Abydians, though notice had been sent them from their friends just arrived, to keep a good look-out, and not suffer them to steal off. Yet morning no sooner appeared than, finding themselves in sight of the fleet under Mindarus, and that they were actually chased, they could not all get off. The greater

* This, according to Spanheim, was a month's pay, since he explains it by forty-three Chian drachmas. But the words will not bear such a construction: a tesseracost was, it is most probable, a coin peculiar to the Chians; but of what value it is not known, nor is it of any great importance.

part, indeed, fled safe to the continent and Lemnos; but four, that got last under sail, were overtaken by the enemy near Eleus; one, also, that ran ashore at the temple of Protesilaus, they seized with all her hands; and two more, the crews of which escaped. One, farther, but abandoned, they burnt at Imbrus.

This done, the ships from Abydos having joined them, and the whole fleet being now increased to fourscore and six sail, they spent the rest of the day in investing Eleus; but, as it would not surrender, they drew off to Abydos.

The Athenians, who had been deceived by their scouts, and never imagined that so large a number of hostile ships could pass along undescried, were very coolly carrying on their siege; but yet were no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, than, instantly quitting Ereusus, they advanced with the utmost expedition to secure the Hellespont. They also picked up two ships of the Peloponnesians; which, running out too boldly to sea in the late pursuit, fell in among them: and, coming up only one day after them, they anchored at Eleus, and reassembled from Imbrus the ships which had fled thither. Five whole days they spent here in getting every thing in readiness for a general engagement: and after this respite they came to an action in the following manner.

The Athenians, ranged in line of battle ahead, stood along shore towards Sestus. The Peloponnesians, aware of their design, stood out to sea from Abydos, to be ready to receive them: and, as both sides were determined to engage, they unfolded their lines to a greater length; the Athenians, along the Chersonesus, reaching from Idacus to Arrhianæ, in all sixty-eight sail; and the Peloponnesians over against them from Abydos to Dardanus, being eighty-six. The line of the Peloponnesians was thus formed: the Syracusans had the right; and on the left was ranged Mindarus, and the ships most remarkable for being good sailors. Among the Athenians, Thrasyllus had the left, and Thrasybulus the right: the rest of the commanders were regularly posted according to their rank. The Peloponnesians, showing most eagerness to begin the engagement, endeavoured with their left to overreach the right of the Athenians, in order to exclude them, if possible, from stretching out into the main sea, and, by keeping them cramped up, to force their centre against the shore, which was not far distant. The Athenians, aware of

the enemy's design to shut them up, plying up ahead, forced themselves an opening, and in velocity beat them all to nothing.

By these motions, the left of their line became extended beyond the cape called Cynos-sema. The consequence of which was exposing their centre, composed only of the weakest ships, and those ranged at too great a distance from one another; especially as in number of vessels they were quite inferior, and as the coast round the Cynos-sema was sharp, and in an acute angle runs out into the water, so that part of the line on one side was out of sight of the other. The Peloponnesians, therefore, charging the centre, drove at once the ships of the Athenians upon the beach; and, being so far manifestly victors, leaped boldly on shore to pursue them. But neither those under Thrasybulus could assist the centre from the right, because of the multitude of ships that stood in to awe them; nor could those under Thrasyllus do it from the left, because the interposition of Cape Cynos-sema hid from him the view of what had passed; and at the same time the Syracusans and others, who, equal in strength, lay hard upon him, prevented his moving. At length, the Peloponnesians, presuming the victory their own, broke their order to give different chase to single ships, and in too heedless a manner threw confusion upon a part of their own line. And now those under Thrasybulus, finding the squadron opposed to them began to slacken, stopped all farther extension of their line ahead; and, tacking upon them, resolutely engaged, and put them to flight. Charging next the dispersed ships of the Peloponnesians, which composed the squadron that presumed itself victorious, they made havoc; and, by striking them with a panic, routed the greater part without resistance. Now also the Syracusans were beginning to give way before the squadron under Thrasyllus; and, seeing others in open flight, were more easily tempted to follow their example. The defeat now being manifestly given, and the Peloponnesians flying away for shelter, first towards the river Pydus, and afterwards to Abydos, the Athenians made prize of only an inconsiderable number of shipping; for the Hellespont, being narrow, afforded short retreats to the enemy. However, they gained a victory by sea, most opportune indeed in their present situation; for hitherto, afraid of the naval strength of the Peloponnesians, because of the rebuffs they had lately

received from it, and the calamitous event of the Sicilian expedition, from this moment they stopped all fruitless self-accusations or groundless exaggerations of the enemy's ability by sea. Some ships of the enemy in fact they took; for instance, eight Chian, five Corinthian, two Ambraciot, two Boeotian; but, of Leucadian, and Lacedæmonian, and Syracusan, and Pellenean, a single one of each: but then they suffered the loss of fifteen ships of their own.

After erecting a trophy upon the Cape of Cynos-sema, and picking up the shatters of the fight, and giving up, under truce, their dead to the enemy, they despatched a trireme to Athens to notify the victory. On the arrival of this vessel, those at home, after hearing the news of this unhopèd-for success, greatly resumed their spirits, which had been dejected by the recent misfortunes at Eubœa and the sad effects of the sedition, and hoped the state might again resume its power if they cheerfully exerted their efforts in its behalf.

On the fourth day after the battle, the Athenians, having diligently refitted their fleet at Sestus, sailed against Cyzicus, which had revolted; and, descrying eight ships from Byzantium riding at anchor under Harpagium and Priapus, they crowded sail towards them; and, having in battle upon the shore defeated their crews, made prizes of them all. Repairing thence against Cyzicus, which was quite unfortified, they reduced it once more, and exacted large contributions from it.

But, during this interval, the Peloponnesians made a trip from Abydos to Eleus, and brought off as many of their own ships which had been taken as were able to sail; the residue the Eleusians burnt. They also despatched Hippocrates and Epicles to Eubœa, to fetch up their fleet from thence.

About the same space of time, Alcibiades also, at the head of his squadron of thirteen sail, returned from Caunus and Phaselis into the harbour of Samos, reporting that "by his management he had divested the junction of the Phœnician fleet with the Peloponnesians, and made Tissaphernes a faster friend than ever to the Athenians."* After enlarging his

* As the English reader is here to take his leave of Alcibiades, he may have the curiosity to know what became of him after. Every thing succeeded so well under him and his active colleagues, that the Lacedæmonians, having received several defeats both by land and sea, and lost two hundred ships, were

squadron by the addition of nine more just manned, he levied large contributions upon the Halicarnassians, and fortified Cos. After these exploits, and putting the government of Cos into proper hands, he returned again, about autumn, to Samos.

From Aspendus also Tissaphernes rode back post-haste into Ionia, so soon as advised of the departure of the Peloponnesian fleet from Miletus for the Hellespont.

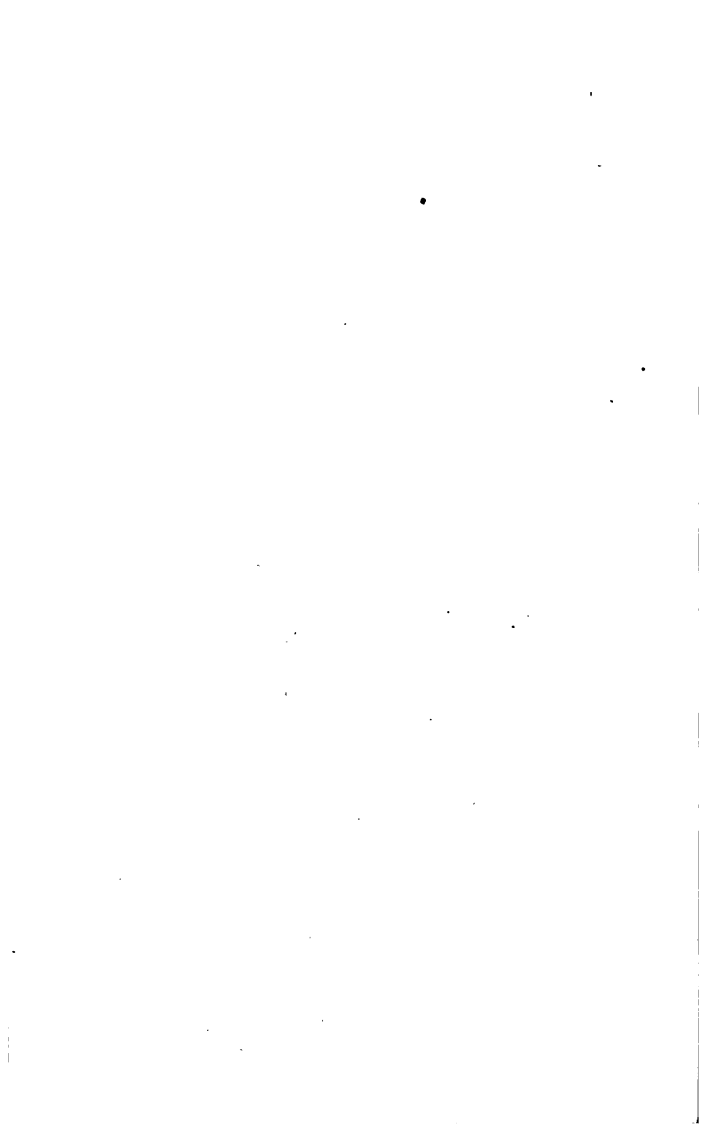
But, as the Peloponnesians were now in the Hellespont, the Antandrians (who are of Æolic descent), having procured from Abydos a party of heavy-armed, who marched across Mount Ida, received them into their city, provoked to this step by the injurious conduct of Arsaces, a Persian, lieutenant to Tissaphernes. This man, pretending he had enemies to cope with whom yet he never named, prevailed with the Delians settled in Adramyttium, because they had been obliged by the Athenians to quit Delos in the affair of the expiation,

again necessitated to sue for peace. After such great services, Alcibiades returned triumphant to Athens. The whole city flocked down to the Piræus to meet him. All strove to get a sight of Alcibiades: they caressed him, crowned him, cursed the authors of his exile, and hurried him away to an assembly of the people. There he harangued them for a time; then stopped and shed tears in abundance; then harangued them again. In short, they undid all they had ever done against him; and Alcibiades for a time was all in all at Athens. Yet, in subsequent commands, he happened not to be successful; a crime which his countrymen very seldom forgave. He became a second time an exile from Athens. His great abilities made him a continual terror both to foreign and domestic enemies. Yet now he persevered to serve his country, by caballing in their favour, and advising them on critical occasions. Yet all in vain: Lysander was soon master of the Piræus and of Athens. Alcibiades retired into Phrygia, and was handsomely supported by the bounty of his friend Pharnabazus; who, however, was wrought upon at last, by the joint solicitations of his enemies and the plea of its necessity for the service of the king, to undertake his destruction. The agents of Pharnabazus durst not attempt him in an open manner, but set fire to his house by night. By throwing in clothes to damp the flames, he got out safe. The barbarians soon spied him, shot him to death with arrows and darts, then cut off his head, and carried it to Pharnabazus. I shall only add, that he was but forty years old when he was thus destroyed.

to attend him in this secret expedition with the flower of their strength; and, leading them forwards with all the show of friendship and alliance, watched the opportunity when they were busy at their meal, surrounded them with a body of his own soldiers, and shot them to death with darts. Fearing him, therefore, because of this instance of a cruel temper, lest some such act of violence he might execute also upon them, as in other respects he had imposed some burdens upon them which they could not bear, the Antandrians ejected his garrison out of their citadel. But Tissaphernes, perceiving how deeply the Peloponnesians were concerned in this affair, and esteeming himself sadly injured also at Miletus and Cnidus (since in those places too his garrisons had been ejected); and fearing they would proceed to other commissions of the same nature; chagrined moreover that perhaps Pharnabazus, in less time and with less expense, having obtained their concurrence, should make a greater progress against the Athenians;—he determined in person to repair to Hellespont, in order to expostulate with them about their late proceedings at Antander, and to wipe off, as handsomely as he could, the aspersions thrown upon his own conduct in regard to the Phœnician fleet and other points. Arriving therefore first at Ephesus, he offered sacrifice to Diana† * * * * *

When the winter following this summer shall be ended, the twenty-first year of the war will be also completed.

† Here breaks off abruptly the History of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides. The adjustment of time annexed seems plainly of another hand.



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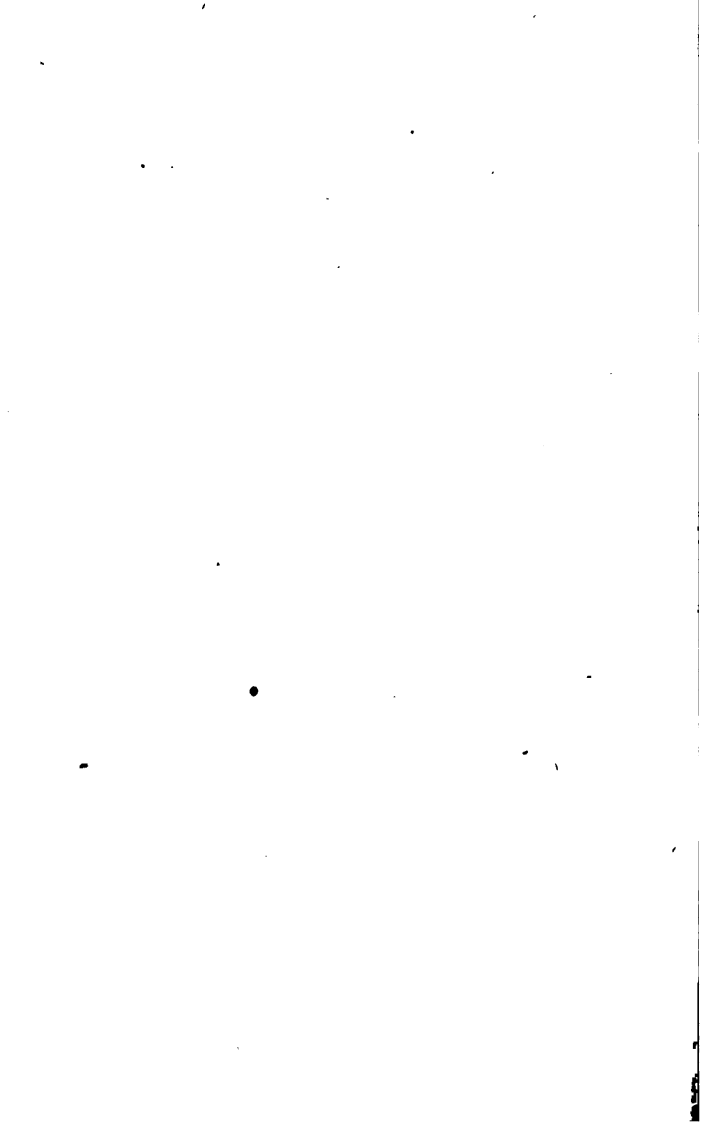
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